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FROM

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THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

A SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY

BY THE

REV. PEARSON M'ADAM MUIR

MINISTER OF MORNINGSIDE, EDINBURGH

FIFTEENTH THOUSAND

EDINBURGH
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK
1892

EXTRACT FROM
PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THIS Sketch of the History of the Church of Scotland is the first of a series which, with the sanction of the General Assembly, the Committee on Christian Life and Work propose to issue, in the hope that they will be used in Guilds and Bible Classes. Mr. M'Adam Muir has done his work with care, and we believe with success. The Committee are much indebted to him for the promptness with which he has responded to their call. He has brought great pains to his difficult task, and with firm though light hand has striven to assign to men and things their true place in the chequered history of the Scottish Church. The Manual gives to young people an amount of information which they can find nowhere else. It does not come into competition with any others.

A. H. CHARTERIS,
Convener of the Committee on Christian Life and Work.

Oct. 20, 1890.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

THE favourable notices by reviewers of the First Edition, and the rapid sale of 5000 copies, have already justified the high expectations with which the Committee issued this book. The present reissue will doubtless meet with an equally favourable reception. Mr. Muir's ungrudging work and high ability have well deserved the success which, in name of the Committee, I gladly acknowledge. A. H. C.

Dec. 15, 1890.

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HISTORY

OF

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

CHAPTER I

A.D. 360–597

§ 1.—St. Ninian and St. Kentigern

OF the introduction of Christianity into Scotland, no authentic record remains. It is highly probable that among the Roman invaders there were Christians, and that by their means the name of Christ became known to the inhabitants. So early as the close of the second century a Christian writer[1] asserted that parts of Britain inaccessible to the Romans had been made subject to Christ. But we are in reality left almost entirely to conjecture.

The first historical figure in our Scottish Christianity is **St. Ninian,** who seems to have been born about the year 360. His father was a Christian prince, and Ninian was devoutly disposed from his youth. He was "sparing in food, reticent in speech, assiduous in study, agreeable in manner, averse from jesting, and in everything subjected the flesh to the spirit." Tradition tells us that as soon as he could accomplish it, he made a pilgrimage to Rome. There he was warmly welcomed by the Pope, received instruction in Christian doctrine, and was sent back to Scotland as a

[1] Tertullian.

Bishop. On his way home he visited the famous St. Martin of Tours; and, soon after his arrival in Galloway, he built a church which, from the colour of the stones, was known as *Candida Casa*, the White House, Whithorn. Before the church was finished, news came of the death of St. Martin of Tours, and the church was in consequence dedicated to his memory. This fixes the date of the church at 402. After Ninian had for some time preached the Gospel to the Picts of Galloway, he went on a missionary journey among the Picts south of the Grampians, and won them over to Christianity. He built at Whithorn a monastery, which became a training school for missionaries. He led a life of great austerity, often retiring for weeks to the solitude of a cave by the seashore. Many signs and wonders were attributed to him. He was said to be so absorbed in devotion, and to possess so marvellous a power of abstraction from things around, that "his repose no crowd disturbed, his meditation no journey hindered, his prayer never grew lukewarm through fatigue." He died about 432, and for centuries no place in Scotland was regarded as more holy than his tomb. It was the shrine to which pilgrims from all quarters came, sometimes in numbers so great as to call for royal interference. And churches over the length and breadth of the land bore the name of St. Ninian.

The conversion of the people to Christianity cannot have been very thorough. In the course of little more than a century they had almost wholly relapsed into Paganism, and the work of Ninian had to be done over again. Among the most famous of those by whom this second conversion to Christianity was effected stands the name of **St. Kentigern.** He was apparently born about the year 514. His mother was Thenaw, daughter of a Pagan king. It is her name which, under the corrupt form of "St. Enoch," is commemorated in the city of which her son became the spiritual founder. He was brought up at Culross, and, on account of the lovableness of his disposition, was familiarly called Munghu or Mungo, my darling.

When he grew up, he resolved to visit Strathclyde, the territory which extended from the Clyde to the Derwent. He was divinely guided to "Cathures" or Glasgow, where he settled for a time and was invited to remain as Bishop. By and by there arose a king who was for some reason unfriendly to him, and he fled to Wales. There, first of all, he was welcomed at Menevia or St. David's by St. David himself; and afterwards, on the banks of the Elwy, he built a monastery to which "flocked old and young, rich and poor" in incredible numbers. In 573 a battle was fought near Carlisle, the result of which was to set the Christian Roderick "the Liberal" on the throne of Strathclyde. Roderick sent messengers asking Kentigern to return to Glasgow. This request the saint could not refuse, and with 665 companions "went forth by the north door of the church, because he was going forth to combat the northern enemy." He was met at Hoddam in Dumfriesshire by Roderick and a great company; and to them with fervour Kentigern expounded the true Faith, "encouraging the hearts of all who stood around to believe in the Living God." On his return to Glasgow he resumed his interrupted labours and stemmed the tide of apostasy. In the course of his work he was visited by one who was elsewhere labouring with even greater success in the same sacred cause, and who was to leave a yet more famous name. St. Columba came from Iona to "rejoice in the light of Kentigern." The two men, each attended by a band of disciples singing spiritual songs, met on the banks of the Molendinar, "and having first satiated themselves with the spiritual banquet of divine words, they after that refreshed themselves with bodily food"; and when they parted they exchanged their pastoral staffs "in pledge and testimony of their mutual love in Christ."

Kentigern died in extreme old age. His memory is preserved in various churches and parishes throughout the country, notably in the Cathedral of Glasgow, and the tradition of his untiring labours was handed down in a proverb which was current in Aberdeenshire as late

as the beginning of the eighteenth century, "It is like St. Mungo's work, which was never done."[1]

§ 2.—St. Columba

Much as we owe to the labours of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern, it is to **St. Columba** that the name of "Apostle of Scotland" is generally applied. The earlier missionaries of the Cross had kindled a light here and there, but it shone very fitfully and was well-nigh extinguished. St. Columba kindled a light which was shed over all the land and by God's grace endures to this day.

He was born at Gartan, in Donegal, Ireland, in the year 521. Both his father and mother were of royal lineage. His youth was distinguished by such assiduity in learning that predictions of a piety, knowledge, and eloquence which would yet astonish the world were made by his teachers. Arrived at man's estate, he devoted himself to founding monasteries, which, in those unsettled times, were the only refuge for learning and religion. The reasons for Columba leaving his native land have been variously given. One story is that he had secretly copied a psalter against the will of its owner, and that the owner, on discovering what had been done, claimed the copy as his own. The dispute was referred to the King of Ireland, who oracularly said, "To every cow her calf, to every book its copy." With this aphorism, in spite of its neatness, Columba was not satisfied, and he and his friends flew to arms. A great battle was fought, and the king was defeated and slain. But the conduct of Columba did not approve itself to the mature consideration of Irish Christendom. A Synod was held: he was pronounced guilty of the blood which had been shed, and, in expiation of his offence, was enjoined to win from heathenism as many souls as the number of the Christians who had fallen in the battle of which he had been the instigator. He was besides sentenced to perpetual banishment; he was to go where he could not

[1] Bishop Forbes, Introduction to *Life of St. Kentigern.*

even see the land of his birth. So he set sail, not knowing whither he went. The first shore which he touched was the island of Colonsay, but, as from its loftiest point Ireland was still visible, he was constrained to put to sea again, and ere long landed on an island from which Ireland could no more be seen. It was the island of Iona.

This tradition is not, however, universally accepted, and there is much to be said for the opinion that Columba left Ireland of his own accord, simply impelled by desire to extend the boundaries of the kingdom of Christ. Whatever was the cause of his exile, no event in the history of Scotland is more memorable than the arrival on Iona, in the year 563, of Columba and his twelve companions. In directing the affairs of the little community, in constructing simple buildings for dwelling and for worship, in manual toil and in transcribing copies of the Holy Scriptures, the early years were spent in peace. By degrees the fame of the colonists spread abroad; pilgrims came to visit them; and the ruler of the territory was so impressed by their sanctity that he made them a gift of the island. They in turn visited the mainland, everywhere carrying the knowledge of Christ and bringing over the people to His Faith. Opposition there occasionally was, but, if we may believe his biographer, nothing could resist the firmness and fervour of St. Columba and his missionary band. Brude, the King of the Picts, might refuse to receive them at Inverness, but immediately, at the prayer of Columba, the gates of the palace flew open. At the entrance of the missionaries, the furious king might draw his sword to slay them, but the sign of the Cross had only to be made, and his hand was withered till he submitted to baptism.

The government of the Columban Church has been the subject of much controversy. It seems to have differed in important respects both from Presbytery and Episcopacy, in the modern sense of these terms. Columba was only a Presbyter, but, as Abbot of the Monastery, he exercised authority over the whole Church. That there were Bishops among the missionaries is true, but they

possessed no jurisdiction, and were as much as any of the others subject to the Presbyter Columba.

St. Columba's love for the land of his nativity did not fade in the land of his adoption. He once or twice revisited Ireland, and was received with great honour. His missionary labours in Scotland extended over a period of thirty-four years. One Saturday in the month of June 597, supported by his faithful attendant Diarmid, he went to bless the granary. "This day," he said, "is in the Holy Scriptures called the Sabbath, which means rest. And this day is indeed a Sabbath to me, for it is the last day of my laborious life; and this night at midnight, which commenceth the solemn Lord's Day, I shall go the way of our fathers." Wearily climbing the hill above the monastery he lifted up his hands to heaven and uttered the prophetic benediction: "Small and mean though this place is, yet shall it be held in great and unusual honour, even by the saints of other Churches." Going back to his cell, he resumed his occupation of transcribing the Scriptures. When he had written these words of the Thirty-fourth Psalm, "They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing," he stopped and said, "Here must I end: what follows let Baithene write." Then to the brethren who had flocked together, knowing that the end was near, he gave exhortations to peace and unity. At midnight, when the bell as usual summoned the community to prayer, he rose with alacrity from his hard couch and, hastening to the altar, knelt down. Soon his strength failed him, and, blessing by signs those who could no longer hear that voice which had amazed them by its music and its power, he peacefully breathed forth his soul in the faithful Diarmid's arms.

Columba died on 9th June 597. The buildings, the ruins of which still stand on Iona, are of a much later date; but the feeling is natural which associates them with him; it is St. Columba's work and St. Columba's memory which make that man little to be envied "whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

CHAPTER II

597–1093

§ 1.—Successors of St. Columba

THE influence of Iona did not cease with St. Columba. Long after his death men went forth from it to make known the name of Christ, and people flocked to it from every quarter. The arrival of one company of visitors in particular was fraught with far-reaching consequences. In the year 617, Ainfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, the sons of Ethelfrid, king of Bernicia (the northern part of Northumbria), who had been defeated and slain by Edwin, king of Deira (the southern part of Northumbria), took refuge in Iona. Oswald remained until 633, and during this interval great changes took place both in himself and in the kingdom from which he had fled. Edwin attained a position which no king had previously held. His dominion extended from the city which bears his name, Edwin's Burgh or Edinburgh, on the north to the confines of Kent on the south; and so beneficent was his rule that a proverb arose, "A woman with her babe might walk scatheless from sea to sea in Edwin's day." Edwin became a convert to Christianity by the influence of his wife, Bertha, daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and by the preaching of Paulinus, a bishop who accompanied her. Almost as a matter of course his subjects declared themselves Christians also. In a few years, however, it seemed as if Christianity would be again renounced, for Edwin fell

in battle against the pagan kings, Penda of Mercia and Cadwalla of Wales. But Oswald, who from his stay at Iona had become a sincere Christian, and who, from the death of his brother Ainfrid, was now the heir to the kingdom of Northumbria, gathered an army, and winning a great victory over his pagan enemies, regained his father's throne. His first care was to restore the Christian faith to the position which it had well-nigh lost, and for this purpose he requested that missionaries might be sent from Iona to instruct his people in the way of life. The first who came did not meet with much success, and ere long returned to Iona, reporting "in an assembly of the elders" that he could do no good among those to whom he had been sent, because they were barbarous and stubborn. During the discussion which followed, one of the brethren, named **Aidan**, addressed the priest who had given the evil report of the land: "I am of opinion, brother, that you were more severe to your unlearned hearers than you ought to have been, and did not at first, conformably to the Apostles' rule, give them the milk of more easy doctrine, till, being by degrees nourished with the Word of God, they should be capable of greater perfection, and be able to practise God's sublimer precepts." The council were so impressed with Aidan's wisdom that they at once determined to send him to King Oswald; "and he, as time proved, afterwards appeared to possess all other virtues, as well as the discretion for which he was before remarkable." St. Aidan took up his abode on the island of Lindisfarne, which soon became for the east coast what Iona had proved for the west. By the labours of men trained there, prominent amongst whom may be named **St. Cuthbert**, the faith which had been so generally renounced was again received and widely extended.

But the missionaries who looked to Iona as their home and their source of authority, were about to engage in a contest with their fellow-Christians. The Christianity which previously prevailed in Northumbria had been introduced by the preaching of Paulinus. Paulinus

had been sent by St. Augustine of Canterbury, and St. Augustine had been sent by Pope Gregory. Some of the customs which prevailed in the Roman Church were different from the customs which prevailed in the Columban Church. The two points on which they differed most were the tonsure and the date of the observance of Easter. The monks of Iona and Lindisfarne shaved the front part of the head; the monks of Rome shaved the crown. St. Columba and his successors, perhaps owing to their isolation, being ignorant of the changes which, on astronomical grounds, had been made in the calendar throughout Europe, commemorated the Resurrection of our Lord on a different day from their fellow-Christians.

On these points, which are possibly as important as many other points about which, even in our own times, Christians hotly dispute, a tremendous controversy arose. The southern Church demanded that the northern should adopt the Catholic usages, but the northern could see no reason for renouncing the practices which it had received from St. Columba. Pope Honorius addressed a letter to the Scots, earnestly exhorting them "not to esteem their small number, placed on the utmost borders of the earth, wiser than all the ancient and modern Churches of Christ throughout the world." But then, as now, the Scots did not lay too much stress on what was done by the rest of Christendom.

Matters were brought to a crisis when the famous Wilfrid, who had been educated on the Continent in the rules and observances of the Roman ritual, was appointed abbot of the monastery of Ripon. The monks who held the Columban tradition had left the monastery "rather than alter their opinion." In 664 a conference was held at the monastery of Whitby, of which the famous Hilda was abbess. The king of Northumbria, Oswy, and his son Alfrid, were present. The chief speaker on the Roman side was Wilfrid. The chief speaker on the Scottish side was Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne. The king and the abbess both leaned to the Scottish opinions, but nothing

could resist the learning and enthusiasm of Wilfrid, although the argument by which he carried the day may not strike us as very convincing. It was, he said, to St. Peter, and not to St. Columba, that our Lord gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven. "Then," exclaimed the king, "St. Peter is the doorkeeper, and him I will obey, lest when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proved to have the keys." The verdict of the conference was therefore in favour of Rome; and Colman was so indignant that he left Lindisfarne and returned to Iona. With him the Scottish tonsure and method of computing Easter disappeared from Northumbria, and by degrees the Roman customs were everywhere accepted. Iona itself had at length to yield. Its abbot, Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba, having visited Northumbria in 688, was persuaded that he and his predecessors had been in the wrong, and set himself to change the traditional practices. He met with strong opposition, and died without having achieved his purpose. Nor was it till 716 that all the monks of Iona were induced to renounce their "errors." In other monasteries the resistance to the innovation was even more stubborn; but eventually the king of the Picts, who had become a zealous devotee of the Roman customs, cut the controversy short by expelling from his dominions all who would not conform.

§ 2.—THE CULDEES—ST. MARGARET

From the sixth to the eleventh century, the history both of the Church and the nation of Scotland is involved in obscurity. Various changes, some for good, some for evil, were introduced. It was during this period that the **Culdees** flourished. What the Culdees actually were is still an unsolved problem. The notion that they were a body of ecclesiastics who came from the East before the doctrine of the Church was corrupted, that they took the Bible for their only rule of faith, that they

rejected "prelacy, transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, the veneration of relics, image-worship, and the celibacy of the clergy," is now generally abandoned. It is, however, easier to say what they were not than what they were. Their origin has been traced to the decay of the monastic system which had prevailed in the Columban Church. Secular clergy, clergy who lived in the "world," assumed the position which they held in other parts of Christendom. Amongst the monks themselves a spirit of greater asceticism sprang up, and instead of living in monasteries they retired into solitude. These hermits or anchorites were called *Deicolæ*, God-worshippers, to distinguish them from the *Christicolæ*, the monks who lived in communities. In Irish it appears that the term *Deicolæ* took the form of *Ceile De*, and in Scotland of *Keledei*—servants of God. By degrees, these Culdees were organised after the fashion of the secular clergy, with whom, as they did not live in monasteries, they had something in common. The result of Dr. Skene's inquiry is that "the Culdees originally sprang from that ascetic order who adopted a solitary service of God in an isolated cell as the highest form of religious life, and who were termed *Deicolæ*; that they then became associated in communities of anchorites or hermits; that they were clerics and might be called monks, but only in the sense in which anchorites were monks; that they made their appearance in the eastern districts of Scotland at the same time as the secular clergy were introduced, and succeeded the Columban monks who had been driven across the great mountain range of Drumalban, the western frontier of the Pictish kingdom, and that they were finally brought under the canonical rule along with the secular clergy, retaining, however, to some extent, the nomenclature of the monastery, until at length the name of *Keledeus* or Culdee became almost synonymous with that of secular canon."[1] On the other hand, it is argued by Dr. Campbell that the term *Deicola* was "applied to

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii.

persons of eminent sanctity of every ecclesiastical rank, whether they were or were not anchorites"; that the term *Ceile De* was of native origin, and had no connection with *Deicola*; and that in all probability the *Ceile De* were never anchorites, but were "communities from their origin." "Taking *Ceile De* in its primary sense of companionship with God, we may believe that the Culdees were at first ascetics, and probably originated in a reaction from the decay of monastic observance. Their institution may have been in some respects analogous to that of the various orders of mediæval monks, who, as they successively arose, sought to reform the corruptions of their times."[1] If they were like the monastic orders in their rise, so also were they in their fall. The prosperity of the Culdees seems to have been their ruin. As they increased in wealth, their zeal declined; discipline was relaxed, they became lazy and self-indulgent, and were finally suppressed as corrupters of the national religion.

The union of the Picts and Scots under King Kenneth M'Alpin in 844, was an important epoch in the history of our country. The united kingdom was at first called Pictavia, then Albania, and finally Scotia. In 850, perhaps partly on account of the ravages of pirates, which had made residence on the coast or in the islands dangerous, the primacy of the Church was transferred from Iona to Dunkeld. But for two hundred years longer Iona continued to be the place of royal sepulture; not only the kings of Scotland, but four Irish kings, one king of France, and eight Norwegian princes, having, it is said, been buried there.

In 1066, when the Norman Conquest of England took place, Malcolm Canmore sat upon the Scottish throne. Two years later, Edgar the Atheling, who claimed to be king of England as heir of the Saxon line, took refuge at the Scottish court at Dunfermline. He was accompanied by his mother and two sisters. To one of these sisters, **Margaret**, Malcolm Canmore was ere long

[1] *The Church of Scotland, Past and Present*; edited by R. H. Story, D.D. (vol. i., by James Campbell, D.D.)

married, and the results of this union were in many respects eminently beneficial. Queen Margaret was a woman of great beauty of character. Devout, learned, and munificent, she exercised a marvellous influence for good both upon king and court, clergy and people. Barbarism gave way to civilisation, laxity to discipline. The epithet of "Saint" in her case is felt to be not unworthily bestowed. Her husband was awed by the spectacle of her devotion, and "seeing that Christ dwelt in her heart, was always ready to follow her counsels; what she disliked he disliked, and what she loved he loved for the love of her." Sentiments of chivalry, generosity, and forbearance, hitherto almost unknown, began to be diffused, and were mainly traceable to the efforts and example of the queen.

As St. Margaret was a devoted adherent of Rome, the changes which she introduced into the Church tended towards the removal of any lingering Columban customs. It is curious to find her combating a superstition which has not wholly disappeared. Many excellent people shrank from receiving the Holy Communion because they were not "worthy." "What," was the queen's argument, "shall no one that is a sinner taste that holy mystery? If so, then it follows that no one at all should receive it, for no one is pure from sin—no, not even the infant whose life is but one day upon the earth."

On 13th November 1093, Malcolm Canmore and his eldest son, Edward, were slain in battle against the English at Alnwick. It was against the will of Queen Margaret that they had set forth on this fatal expedition. Her mind filled with foreboding, she lay dying in Edinburgh Castle. She had received the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and was looking on a golden crucifix called the Black Rood of Scotland, when her son Edgar arrived from the field of battle. "How fares it," she anxiously asked, "with your father and brother?" "They are well," was his ambiguous answer. And she, understanding what he meant, said with resignation, "I know it, I know it. By this holy cross, by the bond of our blood, I adjure thee to tell me the truth." And

when he had told her, she gave praise and thanks to God, and murmuring the prayer "O Lord Jesus Christ, who by the will of the Father, and through the Holy Spirit, by Thy death hast given life unto the world, deliver me," she passed away.

There are beautiful legends of her appearing in visions to encourage her successors in times of national anxiety.[1] It is a just tribute to her memory which in our own day has associated her name with various institutions for the higher education of women.

[1] See the charming *Story of the Burning Bush*, by the Rev. J. C. Carrick, B.D.

CHAPTER III

1093–1494

§ 1.—DAVID I.—ROBERT BRUCE

THE reins of government were for a time held by the usurper, Donald Bane, brother of King Malcolm, but in the year 1098 he was deposed, and the throne of Scotland was successively occupied by three sons of Queen Margaret, Edgar, Alexander, and David. The reign of Alexander I. was memorable on account of a dispute between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, as to which of them possessed the right of consecrating a Bishop of St. Andrews. Alexander, backed by the Scottish clergy, stoutly maintained that the right belonged to neither, and that the Church of Scotland was independent of them both. From this time conflicts arising from the claims of England to supremacy, and appeals to the Pope to decide them, were frequent. It was during this period that the division of the country, first into dioceses and afterwards into parishes, gradually took place. Though there had been bishops in abundance, no territory had been specially assigned to them; and the first who seems to have presided over a prescribed diocese was Turgot, the friend, chaplain, and biographer of Queen Margaret, whom her son Alexander gratefully elevated to the see of St. Andrews, and about whose consecration the complicated dispute between York and Canterbury and Scotland arose. The see of Glasgow was formed in 1116, and that of Dunkeld in

1127. A parish was at first identical with the estate of a feudal lord, who built a church and appointed the clergyman for the benefit of his retainers, and as estates became subdivided parishes became more numerous, each new owner providing his own ecclesiastical equipment. "The system," says Principal Cunningham, "was the growth of circumstances rather than the result of any legislative plan: but than it none better could have been devised to carry Christianity into every hamlet and every home. By dividing the land it subdued it. The noble gave proof of his piety by endowing the Church with the tithes of his manor, and the Church more than repaid the benefit by its humanising influence upon the serfs who tilled his soil and followed his banner to battle. Even the right of patronage was then an unmixed good, for it bound the clergy to the native aristocracy, and so far freed them from the foreign domination of their spiritual head, and the ignorant 'villains' had not yet dreamt of the indefeasible right of the Christian people to choose their own bishops and priests."

The reign of **David I.** was very eventful for the Church. He lavished such vast sums of money upon monasteries, churches, and hospitals, that a king of later days, grumbling at the burden which David's munificence had entailed upon his successors, called him "a sair saint for the crown." At his accession the existing dioceses were St. Andrews, Glasgow, Moray, and Dunkeld. To these he added Ross, Caithness, Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunblane, and Galloway. He founded the Abbey of Holy Rood in honour of the Black Rood which St. Margaret prized so much. During his reign Augustinian and Benedictine monks, Knights Templar, and Knights of St. John made their first appearance in Scotland. To him also the Abbeys of Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, Newbattle, and Cambuskenneth owe their foundation or restoration. Alike in his administration and in his character his resemblance to his mother is striking. His court was remarkable both for its splendour and its piety. He was fond of the chase and of gardening. He was ready

to suspend his pleasures to listen to the complaint of the poorest of his subjects. He spent much time in devotion; and when in his last illness his friends remonstrated with him for exhausting himself by incessant repetition of Psalms, he answered, "Suffer me rather to meditate on heavenly things, that my soul, about to escape from its earthly prison, may return to its own home refreshed by the word of God." "A more perfect exemplar of a good king is," according to Buchanan, "to be found in the reign of David I. than in all the theories of the learned and ingenious." "Augustus," says a modern writer,[1] "found Rome brick and left her marble; but David found Scotland built of wattles and left her framed in granite, castles and monasteries studding the land in every direction. He found her a pastoral country, and before the close of his reign she is described as the granary of her neighbours. . . . Of feudal and historical Scotland, of the familiar Scotland of Bruce and of the Stewarts, David was unquestionably the creator."

The attempts of English prelates to establish supremacy over the Scottish Church were almost as persistent as the attempts of English kings to establish supremacy over the Scottish nation. In 1176 a great conference, at which Henry II of England, William the Lion of Scotland, and the Papal Legate were present, was held at Northampton. The Scottish clergy were vehemently urged to yield to the Archbishop of York that obedience which was expected of them. But they stoutly maintained that the Church of Scotland had ever been a free and independent Church, subject to none but the Bishop of Rome. The claims of York were moreover contested by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and between the wrangling of the Archbishops the Scottish Church escaped the imposition of a foreign yoke. Even the supreme authority of Rome was ere long to be defied. William the Lion had been almost ostentatious in proclaiming the civil power to be inferior to the ecclesiastical. He dedicated the Abbey of Arbroath

[1] E. W. Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings.*

to the memory of Thomas à Becket, who a few years before had been murdered in Canterbury Cathedral for his assertion of the prerogatives of the Church, and for whose murder Henry II had to undergo humiliating penance. William was willing to grant the authority of the Pope so long as it agreed with his own inclinations, but when it went against them he would not yield for a moment. The see of St. Andrews becoming vacant, a bishop was appointed without the consent of the King. William at once rebelled, and insisted that his own chaplain should receive the vacant see. Entreaties and menaces were alike vain; the dread sentence of excommunication was hurled against the land; churches were shut, games were forbidden, the dead were refused Christian burial; but William stood firm; and the mighty power of Rome was baffled by the bold defiance of the King of Scots. On the accession of a new Pope the excommunication was recalled, and the dispute was happily settled by the appointment of the king's chaplain to St. Andrews, and of the other candidate to Dunkeld. In 1188 Pope Clement III, in a bull addressed to William, declared that "the Church of Scotland was a daughter of Rome by special grace and immediately subject to her; and that no appeal concerning benefices should lie out of Scotland unless to the court of Rome."

This was not the only time that Scotland was excommunicated. In the reign of Alexander II, for one whole year, February 1217 to February 1218, the kingdom was laid under the awful ban for engaging in war with John of England, the contemptible tool of the Pope; and on this occasion a kind of repentance was expressed ere the ban was removed. That the repentance was not very deep is shown by the way in which Alexander treated the proposal of a Papal Legate to visit Scotland and inquire into its ecclesiastical condition. "I warn you to be cautious if you enter my kingdom; for wild men dwell there whom I cannot tame; and if they were to attack you I could do nothing to hinder them." The Legate did not pay his intended visit.

During the desperate struggle for independence in the days of **Robert Bruce**, the influence of Rome was commonly exerted on the side of England. This was said to arise in part from the horror excited by the sacrilegious crime of Bruce in killing the Red Comyn in the church of Greyfriars', Dumfries. But doubtless political considerations had much to do with it. Bruce, although remorseful for the deed which he had committed, paid little heed to the fulminations of Rome. He refused even to open missives which came to him from the Pope, because they were not addressed to him as the King of Scotland. Still, though his remoteness allowed him to treat these threats with comparative disregard, the hostility of the Pope was not in those days to be courted. Hence various efforts were made to secure his neutrality, if not his friendship. Especially in 1320, six years after Bannockburn, a petition from the "estates of the realm" was drawn up, beseeching the Pope to let them "live in peace in that narrow spot of Scotland beyond which they neither had nor desired to have any habitation." But even in this humble appeal it was made plain that in the quarrel which they maintained they would never yield. "So long as but one hundred of them remained alive, they would never consent to submit themselves to the dominion of the English." The result was that the Pope wrote to the King of England. Bruce was acknowledged to be King of Scotland, and all claims to supremacy on the part of England were abandoned, although centuries were to elapse ere wars between the two countries should wholly cease. That Bruce was religious according to the fashion of the age is shown by the story of his death. Unable to fulfil his vow of going as a crusader to the Holy Land, he said to his trusty knight, the Black Douglas, "Go thou in my stead, that I may be acquitted for my broken vow. Take my heart and lay it in the sepulchre of the Redeemer." On his way to the Holy Land with his precious burden, Douglas stopped in Spain to help the King of Castile against the Moors. Becoming surrounded by the enemy in battle,

he took from his neck the casket in which the heart of the Bruce was borne, and throwing it before him with the words, "Onward as thou wert wont, thou noble heart; Douglas will follow thee or die!" he fell, overpowered by numbers. His body and the heart of his master were found on the field and were brought back to Scotland; the body to be buried "in Douglas Kirk, the heart in fair Melrose."

§ 2.—The Approach of the Reformation

With all the instances of heroism which these annals of chivalry contain, the conceptions of Christianity which prevailed were crude and superstitious. Nor did the general disorganisation of society tend to make them more enlightened. By degrees the whole system of faith and practice became corrupted. Gifts to the Church were accounted sufficient compensation for almost any crime. It was easier to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of a saint than to walk habitually in his steps. It was easier to treasure up his relics than to breathe his spirit. The continual wars by which the country was distracted were not conducive to the spread of knowledge or the growth of Christian graces. The greatest barons could hardly read or write; the people at large were utterly without education. Men thus sunk in ignorance placed of necessity the guidance of their religious affairs in the hands of the clergy; and when among the clergy increasing wealth and power were accompanied by decreasing spirituality and zeal, their influence was most disastrous. Persons so terribly misusing their position could not but eventually bring contempt upon themselves. Even those who trembled before the magical power of the priests could scoff at their unworthy lives; and when the holders of an office are treated with habitual ridicule, the office itself will not long be treated with respect. As learning revived, the spirit of inquiry arose, and the doctrines on which the clergy, who had as a class become so luxurious and immoral, rested their claims to divine authority were

called in question. The indifference and scorn at first secretly cherished by a few were gradually changed into the open and bitter hatred of the many. It took a long time for the storm to break out in all its fury; but very soon, in England and Scotland and all over the continent, signs of its approach could be discerned. The disaffection became so evident and so widespread that those who controlled the destinies of the Church were compelled to notice it; but, as a rule, instead of seeking to remove its causes by amending their own lives and restoring discipline, they sought to stamp it out by force. Although for a time this might be successful in checking the rebellion and the open avowal of "new" opinions, it only made the inevitable Revolution more violent and more thorough when it came.

In England, certain exactions of the Pope excited strenuous opposition. The national voice found expression in the writings of the "Morning Star of the Reformation," John Wycliffe. Wycliffe lived and died in communion with Rome, ministering as a priest to the very last; but in the controversy which he waged, and in the course of his great work of translating the Holy Scriptures, he found himself obliged to renounce certain prevalent doctrines, more especially the doctrine of transubstantiation. Wycliffe died in 1384, and, owing to the protection of powerful friends, was allowed to die in peace. Forty years afterwards, however, in order to mark the detestation in which his name and heresies were held, his remains were, in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and many ecclesiastics, dug up, burnt, and cast into a stream. This petty exhibition of impotent malice did not end the work which he had begun. "This brook," as Thomas Fuller wrote, "hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

Naturally, Scotland could not escape the contagion. In 1406, midway between the death of Wycliffe and the

exhumation of his bones, John Resby, an English priest, was burnt at Perth for "heresy"; and in 1433, Paul Crawar, a physician from Bohemia, the country in which the tenets of Wycliffe had taken deepest root, shared the same fate at St. Andrews. The burning of the living disciples proved as ineffectual as the scattering of the ashes of the dead master. The opinions for which these men suffered gradually gained adherents, secret or open. In 1494, thirty persons, men and women, belonging to Ayrshire, known to history as the **Lollards of Kyle**, were brought before King James IV and his council charged with no fewer than thirty-four "heresies." They maintained among other things that images were not to be worshipped, that in the Mass there was no change in the bread after consecration, that priests might marry, that prayer should not be offered to the glorious Virgin Mary, that the Pope was the successor of St. Peter only in so far as it was said to him, "Get thee behind me, Satan." The translation of the Bible; the invention of printing; the foundation of the universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, in which good work we must acknowledge with thankfulness the efforts of some whose unhappy encouragement of persecution we cannot sufficiently deplore; the continued "torpor and sloth" of the clergy, against which James I., in whose reign Paul Crawar was burnt, so vehemently warned them; the Great Schism in which the strange spectacle was presented of several Popes contending for the headship of an infallible Church—all tended to unsettle men's minds, and to prepare the way for a vast upheaval.

CHAPTER IV

1494–1572

§ 1.—Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart

EVERY effort was made to suppress the "new" doctrines. Acts of Parliament for the "eschewing of heresy" were passed. The works of Martin Luther and his followers, who had openly broken with Rome, were refused admittance into the country. But in spite of all prohibition they were widely circulated in secret. Not only did books and treatises find their way across the seas, but Scotsmen visiting the Continent returned imbued with Protestant opinions. Amongst those who most eagerly hailed the dawning light was **Patrick Hamilton.** He studied at the universities of Louvain and Paris, and was versed in all the accomplishments of the period. On his return, endeavouring to impress on others the truths which he had embraced, and often quoting the saying of Erasmus—"Let us not only read but live the Gospel," he speedily aroused the suspicion of the ecclesiastical authorities, and had to take refuge on the Continent. Ere long, however, he came back confirmed in his faith, and resolved more boldly to proclaim it. He proved himself a skilful controversialist, and not a few persons of distinction began to be convinced by his reasonings. In order to avert the danger, Archbishop Beaton of St. Andrews invited him to a friendly conference, and encouraged him to be "frank." The result of his "frankness" was that a long list of

heresies was soon drawn out against him, and he was sentenced to death. He was burnt at St. Andrews on the last day of February 1528, "the protomartyr of the Scottish Reformation." He was only twenty-four years of age. His torments at the stake, it is to be hoped rather from the ignorance than from the cruelty of his executioners, lasted six hours. "But," wrote a witness of the martyrdom, Alexander Alane, better known as Alesius, who in former days, endeavouring to win back Hamilton to the Church of Rome, had himself been converted to Protestantism, "during all that time he never gave one sign of impatience or anger, nor ever called to Heaven for vengeance upon his persecutors." It was thought that this example would strike terror into the hearts of others who might be inclined to join the ranks of the Reformers, and the theological professors of the University of Louvain sent hearty congratulations to Archbishop Beaton on the zeal for God which he had shown. The congratulations were premature: the reformed faith, instead of being destroyed, only gained greater strength; there was wisdom as well as humour in the counsel given to Archbishop Beaton when the propriety of seeking fresh victims was discussed —"If ye will burn men, let them be burned in *how cellars*; for the reek of Maister Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon."

This wise counsel was disregarded. Some were soon found willing to seal their confession with their blood, and others fled to the Low Countries or to England. Henry VIII, who had for his treatise against Luther been rewarded by a grateful Pope with the title of "Defender of the Faith," was now, for reasons which it would be difficult to praise, in full rebellion against Rome. The royal convert vainly tried to make his nephew, James V of Scotland, likewise renounce allegiance to the Holy See. Failing in this, Henry was ready to foment disaffection towards the king as well as towards the Pope. The work of true reform was sadly marred by personal interest and by political intrigue.

When James Beaton was succeeded in the archbishopric of St. Andrews by his more famous nephew Cardinal David Beaton, measures yet more stringent were adopted. The most illustrious of his victims was **George Wishart.** While acting as schoolmaster at Montrose he is said to have excited suspicion by his study of the Greek Testament, and to have sought safety in flight. After visiting the Reformed Churches of Switzerland and other continental countries, he took up his abode at Cambridge for a year or two. He was beloved for his courtesy, devotion, and charity. Returning to Scotland, he preached in Montrose and Dundee on the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Epistle to the Romans. Commanded by the magistrates to desist, he went for a time to the west country, but on the plague breaking out in Dundee he returned, and with noble self-forgetfulness ministered to the sufferers. The very success of his labours embittered his theological foes, and he narrowly escaped at least one attempt at assassination. Eventually he was arrested at Ormiston, East Lothian. An impetuous disciple who carried a two-handed sword might, like another St. Peter, have wielded it in his defence, had not Wishart gently restrained him, saying, "One is sufficient for a sacrifice." That impetuous disciple was John Knox. Wishart was taken to St. Andrews, where his trial took place immediately. Winram, the sub-prior of St. Andrews, preached a sermon ingeniously proving, from the injunction of our Lord that wheat and tares must grow together till the harvest, that "heretics should be put down in this present life." When taken back to his cell two friars came to receive Wishart's confession; he said, "Not to you, but to yonder man who preached this day will I confess." Wishart would have taken the Communion from Winram, had he been allowed to receive it, "under both kinds, according to the Saviour's institution." This request was refused by the bishops. Wishart, therefore, at the breakfast to which, on the morning of his execution, he

was invited by the Governor of the Castle, took bread and wine and administered the Sacrament himself to those who were present. At the stake he bore his torments with marvellous patience, saying to the spectators, "For the Word's sake and the true Gospel which was given me by the grace of God I suffer this day, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind." It is said in some accounts that his sufferings were witnessed from a window by Cardinal Beaton, and that Wishart called out, "He who feedeth his eyes with my torments, within a few days shall be hanged out at the same window, to be seen with as much ignominy as he now leaneth there in pride."

Whether Wishart said this or not, it accurately described what actually took place. His execution roused a feeling of bitter enmity against the Cardinal, and a conspiracy was formed to assassinate him. On the morning of 28th May 1546 a number of men, including Norman Leslie, master of Rothes, William Kirkcaldy of Grange, and James Melville of Carnbee, contriving on various pretexts to dismiss the attendants of the Cardinal, obtained complete possession of the castle. The Cardinal, on awaking and finding the castle in the hand of enemies, barricaded the door of his room. The threat of fire compelled him to open it, and the conspirators rushed in. In order to show that they acted not from private revenge but as performing a sacred duty, James Melville hindered the others from at once completing their desperate deed. To the unhappy Cardinal crying out, "I am a priest, you will not slay me," Melville sternly said, "Repent thee of thy former wicked life, and especially of shedding the blood of that notable instrument of God, Mr. George Wishart, which cries for vengeance against thee, and we from God are sent to avenge it. For before my God I protest that nothing moveth me to strike thee but only because thou hast been and remainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and His Holy Evangel." So saying, he repeatedly thrust his sword through the body of the Cardinal.

When life was extinct, the murderers, in order to satisfy the curiosity which had been excited among the townspeople by the Cardinal's attendants, and to testify that justice had been done, hung the dead body over the wall of the castle.

For such an atrocious deed no defence can be offered. It remains an indelible blot upon a righteous cause. The private life of the Cardinal was far from saintly, and his public administration was marked by cruelty; nevertheless it seems beyond dispute that his assassins, unless it were Melville himself, by whom the death-blow was given, were moved quite as much by personal vindictiveness and by English gold as by religious fanaticism. Although, in the heat of controversy, and smarting from oppression, some of the reformers spoke of the crime with unseemly exultation, the general feeling of the more moderate was undoubtedly expressed in the lines of Sir David Lindsay—

> "As for the Cardinal, I grant
> He was the man we weel could want,
> And we'll forget him soon;
> And yet I think that, sooth to say
> Although the loon is weel away,
> The deed was foully done."

§ 2.—JOHN KNOX AND THE REFORMATION

The murderers of Cardinal Beaton retained possession of the castle which they had so successfully captured. They were soon to learn that they had been guilty not only of a crime but of a blunder. The death of Wishart had attracted men to the Protestant side; the death of Beaton created a revulsion. Beaton, with all his faults, had been a genuine Scotsman, and as it became suspected that his removal was owing to the bribes of Henry VIII, whose plots he had countermined, the national spirit rose against that peculiar reformer, and against the Protestants who had, by reason of political complica-

tions, been obliged to make common cause with him. Thus for a time, while the Roman party, like the Scots of old, looked for support to France, the Protestants had, in defiance of all tradition, to seek help from England; and in those days, when national feeling was so strong, it was a sore trial to be forced to choose between one's religion and one's country. The castle of St. Andrews afforded the readiest refuge for those who were supposed to be in league with England; hence some who, however they may have regarded the death of the Cardinal as a judgment upon him, would never have consented to his murder, gathered together within the same walls as the assassins. Among others came one who was destined to exercise the most extraordinary influence in shaping the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. In April 1547, **John Knox**, with his pupils, the sons of the lairds of Ormiston and Niddrie, was received into the castle. It had now for a year defied the siege of the Earl of Arran, Regent in the minority of the hapless Mary, and a truce had been made to consider the terms of surrender. The behaviour of the garrison, composed to some extent of men resembling the followers of David in the cave of Adullam, had occasionally been so shameful as to call forth stern though fruitless denunciations from the chaplain, John Rough. Words yet plainer and more powerful were to be employed by John Knox.

The great reformer was at this time forty-two years old. Born near Haddington in 1505, he had received a learned education, and had been ordained as priest at an early age. He was soon affected by the reformed opinions, and was, as we have seen, a devoted friend of Wishart. With all the fervour of his nature, however, he had hitherto lived in comparative quiet, content to follow rather than to lead. He was now to step into the foremost place, although, like many another man who has deeply impressed the world, he shrank from the task which lay before him, and accepted it under compulsion. One day Rough, the chaplain, declared in his sermon that a Christian congregation had the right to

call any duly gifted man to be their minister, and that such a man would be guilty of sin were he to refuse the call. Then turning to Knox, he solemnly declared that such gifts and such a call were his, and that he might not, save at his peril, decline to accede to the wishes of the people. Knox, "abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, and withdrew himself to his chamber," but ere long he assumed the responsibility thrust upon him, and began to preach with a vigour which astonished all who heard, now reasoning against the errors of Rome, now inveighing against the vices of the garrison, and threatening them with defeat and ruin. His warnings were speedily fulfilled. A French fleet appeared upon the scene, the castle could no longer hold out, and its defenders were carried off to France, where some were imprisoned and others were made galley-slaves. For nineteen months Knox was chained to the oar, and to this circumstance may probably be attributed much of that violence of language which we in our more comfortable times find it so easy to condemn.

On his release at the intercession of King Edward VI Knox acted as a minister of the Church of England, and was appointed one of the King's chaplains. In this capacity he took part in the preparation of the Prayer-Book of 1552. He declined the bishopric of Rochester, and on the death of Edward VI, and the accession of Mary in 1554, he fled to the Continent. At Geneva he made the acquaintance of John Calvin, and afterwards ministered to an English congregation at Frankfort. Becoming involved in a controversy regarding the use of the Prayer-Book, he returned to Geneva and formed an English congregation there. He ventured back to Scotland in 1555, preaching and administering the Communion in various places. Powerful nobles now began to range themselves on his side, such as the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Lorn, and the Queen's half-brother, the Lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, better known as the Regent Murray. But for a time it was judged prudent that

Knox should again retire to Geneva. In December 1557, during his absence, though stimulated by his letters, the Lords of the Congregation, as the reforming nobles had come to be called, drew up what is known as the First Covenant. In this they bound themselves to "maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His congregation; unto the which Holy Word and congregation we do join us, and so do forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstition, abomination, and idolatry thereof." After signing the Covenant, the Lords further resolved that in all parishes "the Common Prayer be read weekly on Sundays and other festival days . . ., and if the curates be qualified that they read the same: and if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the parish use and read the same"; also, that "doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, till God move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers."

It was hardly to be expected that the proposals of the Lords of the Congregation should meet with any favour from the infatuated leaders of the Church. Efforts, indeed, were feebly made that the priests should, in life and learning, be better fitted for their duties, and treatises were prepared for the enlightenment of the people in Christian doctrine. There were a few men like Ninian Wingate, schoolmaster at Linlithgow and afterwards abbot of the Scottish monastery at Ratisbon, who, while strongly opposed to the teaching of the reformers, lamented and denounced the ignorance, avarice, and immorality of the priests. These efforts came too late. Nothing could stem the tide by which the corrupt system was to be swept away; by which also, we need not scruple to admit, some things innocent were to be engulfed. The return of Knox in 1559 was the beginning of the end. He preached at Perth against idolatry with such effect that when the priests prepared to celebrate mass a riot ensued, and

soon only the bare walls of several churches and religious houses were left standing. At St. Andrews he preached upon "Christ's Purification of the Temple," and the magistrates and inhabitants "harmoniously agreed to set up the reformed worship in the town; the church was stripped of images and pictures, and the monasteries were pulled down." This work of destruction was carried much farther than was intended; it was only objects identified with idolatry which Knox aimed at removing, but the "rascall multitude," as he terms them, could not well distinguish, and many beautiful works of art piously consecrated to the worship of God were ruthlessly demolished. The Cathedral of Glasgow narrowly escaped destruction. A tumultuous mob had flocked together to level it with the ground; but the townsmen, with the Dean of Guild at their head, rushed to the rescue and dispersed the rioters. The emblems which had been specially identified with "Popery" were broken in pieces; but the noble pile was itself preserved to be the pride of the city. Had this example been followed everywhere, there can be no doubt that, as Sir Walter Scott makes "Andrew Fairservice" say, "the Reform wad just ha'e been as pure as it is e'en now, and we wad ha'e mair Christian-like kirks." Let it not be supposed, however, that the demolition of churches was wholly due either to Knox or even to the "rascall multitude." The churches and abbeys most beautiful of all, and over which the loudest lamentations have arisen,—Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, Jedburgh, Haddington, Newbattle, Holyrood, —had been destroyed years before this time; destroyed, not by rude Scots or grim Presbyterians and Protestants, but by an English army composed of Episcopalians and Roman Catholics!

It could hardly be expected that all the leaders of the Reformation should in everything be animated by the highest motives; and it was speedily evident that hope of plunder, quite as much as zeal for purity of doctrine and of worship, had induced some to throw themselves

into the movement. The endowments which the piety of past ages had bestowed upon the Church were largely appropriated by the nobles; and the Church started on her new career sadly crippled and impoverished by the greed of some who most loudly professed to seek her welfare.[1]

The year 1560 may be regarded as the date of the actual consolidation of the Reformed Church. In that year the Scotch *Confession of Faith* and the *First Book of Discipline* were composed, and the first General Assembly was held. The *Confession of Faith*, commonly called "Knox's Confession," was read before the Parliament, and was without a dissentient voice accepted as the creed of the kingdom. It contained a summary of Christian doctrine in accordance with Scripture and the ancient Catholic Creeds, and was prefaced by the protest: "If any man will note in this our confession any article or sentence repugnant to God's Holy Word, may it please him of his gentleness and for Christian charity's sake to admonish us of the same in writing: and we, upon our honours and fidelity, by God's grace, do promise unto him satisfaction from the mouth of God—that is, from His Holy Scriptures, or else reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss." The *First Book of Discipline*, though never formally ratified, contained the mind of Knox and his associates, and was, in its general spirit, accepted by the nation. The government of the Church was entrusted to superintendents, ministers or pastors, doctors or teachers, elders, and deacons. There were also readers who, in the absence of ministers, were to read the Common Prayers and the Scriptures, and in reading they were to take the sacred books in order, "and not to hip from place to place as the Papists did." The country was divided into ten districts or dioceses, over each of which a superintendent presided. With the exception of Erskine of Dun, who had hitherto been a layman, the superintendents were ministers who spent

[1] *A Handbook of the Church of Scotland*, by James Rankin, D.D., pp. 143-149.

part of their time in their own parishes, and the rest of the year in travelling from parish to parish on tours of inspection. The office of superintendent, whatever its merits or demerits, soon fell into abeyance. The Lord's Supper was to be administered four times a year, and none was to be admitted who could not say the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. There were to be two services every Sunday, but in the afternoon, instead of a sermon, the children were to be catechised. In towns there was to be Daily Service, "either sermon or public prayers, with some reading of Scriptures." Marriages were to be performed "in open face and public audience of the Kirk," and it was recommended that they should be performed not only in church, but on Sunday forenoon. The *Book of Common Order*, popularly known as "John Knox's Liturgy," originally prepared for the English congregation at Geneva, was enjoined in 1564, and was habitually used in public worship for more than eighty years.

Despite the convulsions with which it was accompanied, the continuity of the Church was not broken by the Reformation, for it was by the Church herself that the Reformation was effected. She simply threw off what she accounted traditions and inventions of men, the ordinances of a usurped authority. The Reformers did not dream of setting up a "new Church." The "purification of the Temple" was their sole object. "It was their great aim not to destroy the Church as a united and visible body, but to strengthen and perfect its organisation by purifying it from corruptions and restoring its Apostolic and primitive form."[1] The Baptism and Ordination of the unreformed Church were alike held as valid. "'The old order changeth, yielding place to new,' but there is no absolute disruption between the two. Out of the Romanist priesthood emerges the Protestant ministry. . . . The very fact that no theory of Apostolical Succession hampered the free action of the Reformers, makes it all the more noticeable that that

[1] *Church Principles of the Reformation*, by G. W. Sprott, D.D.

succession was not broken, and that now (though the passage was more rapid and stormy) as the Celtic Church had been amalgamated with the Romanist, so the Romanist was in part absorbed into, in part superseded by, the Reformed."[1]

Amid all the ecclesiastical controversy in which they were involved, the Reformers were keenly alive to the importance of secular education for the people. To their foresight the country owes those Parish Schools which, for more than three hundred years, formed so important an element in the national welfare, and which have been superseded only within the present generation.

By the ratification of their Confession, and the virtual adoption of their discipline, the Reformers were triumphant, although they had still to contend against attempts to restore the old order of things. The most dangerous opponent of the Reformed Church was to arise in the person of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, who, on the death of her husband Francis II of France, returned to Scotland in the year 1561. Mary was a devoted adherent of the faith in which she had been brought up, and in which her residence in France had confirmed her. Into the details of that melancholy strife in which her remaining life was spent it is impossible to enter. Young, gay, devoted to Rome, it is easy to understand how unpalatable she must have found Scotland after France, how utterly impossible it was that she could find much to attract her sympathy in the Protestant leaders. On the other hand, remembering with what pains and toil the Reformation had been achieved, with what horror the possible restoration of the corruption and tyranny which had been overthrown would be contemplated, it is equally easy to understand that Knox and his associates could hardly be prepared to see their work undone by a girl of nineteen, however charming and beautiful. It was a struggle for life and death. We may think Knox's language to Mary unduly harsh; he himself said on his deathbed, "I know that many have

[1] *The Continuity of the Church of Scotland*, by R. H. Story, D.D.

complained of my too great severity, but God knows that my mind was always void of hatred to the persons of those against whom I thundered my severest judgments." We cannot withhold our sympathy from her who, whether by her own fault or the fault of others, forfeited her throne, spent such weary years in captivity, and finally died upon the scaffold at the instance of a rival queen. But whether at Holyrood, at Lochleven, or at Fotheringay, it was Mary whose name formed the rallying cry of the enemies of the Reformation, and both parties had continually to be on the alert against surprise.

Fifteen years before the tragedy of Fotheringay, John Knox had died in peace on 24th November 1572. A vast concourse of mourning people followed him to the grave, and the Regent Morton truly said, "Here lies he who neither feared nor flattered any flesh."

CHAPTER V

1572–1643

§ 1.—Andrew Melville

ALTHOUGH the Church was now reformed, its present organisation was not accomplished all at once. Various efforts were made to reintroduce the system which had been overthrown. Shortly before the death of Knox it was proposed, in a convention held at Leith, to revive the old titles of bishop and archbishop, and several ministers agreed to accept them. A General Assembly, which soon afterwards met at Perth, gave a qualified consent to the proposal; and Knox himself, whom feeble health prevented from attending, sent a letter of concurrence. But as the new bishops were the mere nominees of certain noblemen, and as the noblemen themselves were to receive the lion's share of the emoluments, the name of "Tulchan Bishops" was derisively applied to this humble hierarchy. A "tulchan" was a calf's skin stuffed with straw, and placed beside a cow to make her yield her milk more easily. "The bishops," said the people, "have the name, but the nobles have the milk." The absolute unlawfulness of Episcopacy had not yet been accepted as a dogma by the Scottish Church.

It is to **Andrew Melville** that the assertion of the "Divine Right of Presbytery" is commonly attributed. He was born at Baldovy, near Montrose, in 1545. Studying at Paris, Poictiers, and Geneva, he was already famous when he returned to Scotland in 1574. Next

year he took part in a discussion as to whether the office of bishop, as distinct from presbyter, had any foundation in Scripture. The Assembly before which the result of the discussion was laid decided that every minister in charge of a flock was truly an "overseer" or "bishop," but that it was allowable for some ministers to exercise a wider jurisdiction, and to have a certain supervision of others. As time went on, the dread of the misuse which might be made of such a power gained ground, and the assumption of any power by one bishop or presbyter over another was declared to be absolutely unlawful. The *Second Book of Discipline*, approved by the General Assembly of 1578, recognised four offices as specially needful in the government of the Church—1. Pastors, bishops, ministers, or presbyters; 2. Doctors, prophets, or teachers; 3. Elders; 4. Deacons. To the bishops or pastors alone belonged the right of preaching the Word of God and of administering the Sacraments. In 1592 the Government of the Church, by General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk-Sessions, was ratified by Act of Parliament.

James VI ascended the throne in 1578 at the age of twelve. He was a strange compound of wisdom and folly, of vacillation and obstinacy, of learning and prejudice, of self-assertion and timidity. Even the tutorship of George Buchanan could not make more of him than a pedant. During his reign many events of the utmost importance for the kingdoms and Churches both of Scotland and of England took place—some for good, some for evil; but whatever part the King played in them he invariably contrived to be ridiculous. At one time he was strongly Presbyterian: "He fell forth praising God that he was born . . . to such a place and to be king in such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the world . . . As for our neighbour Kirk in England, it is an evil-said mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings." At another time he was strongly Episcopalian: "No bishop, no king." The controversies which sometimes occurred in church between him and the preachers to whom

he was listening fill us with amazement. Whatever may be said as to the reverence, there can be no doubt as to the appropriateness of the text which, according to tradition, was once announced in his presence: "James First and Sixth: He that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed." The conduct of such a man largely depended on the character of those with whom he happened to associate. Under wise and powerful guidance the kindlier if weaker elements of his nature found scope. Falling under the influence of unworthy favourites, his overweening notions of the royal prerogative and of his own personal infallibility gained the upper hand.

When the suggestions which he made as to the government of the Church were not at once adopted, he was imbued with an inveterate dislike towards all its ways. Between him and Andrew Melville there could be little in common. Melville did not, any more than Knox, fear the face of man. When in 1582 a list of "Griefs of the Kirk" was drawn up and laid before the King, "Who dares to subscribe these treasonable articles?" angrily asked the Earl of Arran, one of the King's favourites. "We dare," unhesitatingly answered Melville, and stepping to the council table, calmly signed his name, an example which his companions followed. When in 1596, at Falkland, James interrupted a deputy who was "in a mild and smooth manner" unfolding certain grievances, Melville, laying his hand on the King's sleeve, called him "God's silly vassal," and exclaimed, "Sir, as divers times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland; there is King James the head of this commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus the King of the Church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member."

James had his revenge ten years later, when he summoned to Hampton Court representatives of the two parties in the Scottish Church—those who leant to

Episcopacy, and those who adhered to Presbytery. Obliged to listen to Anglican sermons, and witness the administration of Anglican rites, Melville wrote some satirical verses on the services in which he had unwillingly taken part. For this offence he was brought before the Privy Council, and was doomed to remain for years in the Tower of London. On his release he went again to the Continent, and died Professor of Divinity at the University of Sedan in 1622.

§ 2.—The Covenants

The same year, 1610, which saw Andrew Melville's release from the Tower of London saw also an event which must have seemed to him as the undoing of his work. Three ministers of the Scottish Church —**Spottiswoode**, Lamb, and Hamilton—went up to London, by command of the King, and were consecrated Bishops respectively of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway. They were only in Presbyterian orders, but these were held to be valid; and a proposal that they should be reordained by bishops was at once rejected. Mindful of "old usurpations," and to remove any suspicion of this being "a sort of subjection to the Church of England," the Archbishops of Canterbury and York took no part in the consecration. The new bishops, on their return to Scotland, set about consecrating others, and the period known as the "First Episcopacy" began. Under this constitution the Church of Scotland was in fullest Communion with the Church of England; but national peculiarities were retained. Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, met as before; and no change was made in the services of the Church, the *Book of Common Order* continuing in use. When the King visited Scotland in 1617 the Anglican Service was used at Holyrood, although, in consequence of a remonstrance from the Dean of the Chapel Royal, certain practices which would have been specially offensive to the people were

omitted. In 1618 an assembly at Perth agreed to five Articles, viz. 1, Kneeling at the Holy Communion; 2, Private Communion in cases of sickness; 3, Private Baptism for similar reasons; 4, Confirmation by the Bishop of children who were eight years of age; 5, Observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. The attempts to enforce these Articles, innocent in themselves—one of them, Private Baptism, being now most frequently demanded by those who view Episcopacy with most dislike—aroused determined opposition.

Charles I. was an infinitely nobler character than his father, but his manner of dealing with the Scottish Church was equally injudicious. At the instigation of Archbishop Laud he so insisted on the acceptance of Anglican customs as to render them utterly hateful. On 23d July 1637 the new Service Book was introduced into St. Giles' Cathedral. No sooner had the Dean begun to read the Collect for the day, the Seventh Sunday after Trinity, than a stall-woman, Jenny Geddes by name, is said to have cried out, "Out, thou false thief! dost thou say the mass at my lug?" and to have thrown a stool at his head.[1] A tremendous uproar ensued, and the Service Book was everywhere rejected. It was not against the reading of prayers that the protest was made: that very morning the *Book of Common Order* had been used in St. Giles', the reader saying ere he dismissed the congregation, "Adieu, good people, for I think this is the last time of my reading prayers in this place": the protest was against a particular book, and yet more against the tyrannical manner of its introduction.

Instead of taking warning, the King and the Archbishop simply had recourse to new measures of oppression, and all hope of accommodation passed away. On 1st March 1638 the **National Covenant** was solemnly signed in the Greyfriars' Churchyard. The subscribers, "the nobility, the gentry, the burgesses, the ministers,

[1] *St. Giles', Edinburgh: Church, College, and Cathedral*, by J. Cameron Lees, D.D., LL.D.

the commons of all sorts," pledged themselves by the great name of the Lord their God "to adhere to and defend the true religion, . . . and to labour by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel as it was professed and established before the aforesaid innovations." The whole country was soon in a blaze. On the 21st of November the General Assembly met at Glasgow. The Marquis of Hamilton was Lord High Commissioner, and **Alexander Henderson,** minister of Leuchars, was Moderator. The clergy present numbered 140, and the 98 elders were composed of 17 noblemen, 9 knights, 25 lairds, and 47 burgesses. The Commissioner soon retired, but the Assembly refused to dissolve, and proceeded to examine the character and conduct of the bishops who had been set over them. All the bishops were either excommunicated, deposed, or suspended. "We have now," said Henderson in dismissing the Assembly, "cast down the walls of Jericho: let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

The King raised an army to crush the rebellion, and the Covenanters took up arms in self-defence. The two armies met at Dunse Law, and, after negotiations which ended in permission for a free Assembly to meet, parted without bloodshed. This was virtually a victory for the Covenanters, and the Assembly which was held ratified their doings. The peace was only temporary. Disaffection was spreading in England; the great Civil War was at hand; from the force of circumstances the Covenanters and the English Puritans joined hands. The vision of Uniformity floated before the minds of the Covenanters. As they had succeeded in establishing so happy a system of Church government in Scotland they concluded that it must be equally beneficial for England, and in 1643 was drawn up "**The Solemn League and Covenant** for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland." The drift of this document was more aggressive

than that of the previous Covenant, with which it is often confounded. The National Covenant was mainly defensive: the Solemn League and Covenant aimed also at "the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism," and at "the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignant or evil instruments, by . . . making any faction contrary to this League and Covenant; that they may be brought to public trial and receive condign punishment." It was signed in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, by the Lords and Commons, and by the Assembly of Divines which had then begun its sittings. It was sent for signature over the length and breadth both of England and Scotland, all who refused to sign being threatened with ecclesiastical censures and civil penalties. In England it was disapproved by the saintly Richard Baxter. In the south-west counties of Scotland it met with enthusiastic favour, but in the north, especially in Aberdeenshire, it was coldly received; and, in consequence of his refusal to subscribe, the devout and learned theologian, Dr. John Forbes of Corse, Professor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen, was, "to the grudge and grief of the best," forced, along with others, to flee the country.

CHAPTER VI

1643–1688

§ 1.—The Westminster Assembly—Resolutioners and Protesters

THE meeting of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster marks an important era in the history of the Church of Scotland. This memorable Assembly began its deliberations on the 1st of July 1643, and ended its regular sessions on 22d February 1648, having sat 1163 times.[1] Its decisions have affected the Church of Scotland and all her offshoots down to the present day. And yet it was in a manner only accidental that she was represented there at all. By command of the Parliament a number of English divines were summoned to meet at Westminster, "for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations." Along with the divines of the Church of England were some lay assessors, and after a time a few commissioners from Scotland were added. The members of Assembly included advocates of various forms of ecclesiastical polity, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independent; and there were a few "Erastians" who regarded Church government as a wholly subordinate matter to be regulated by the State. Among the representatives of Episcopacy were Archbishop Ussher, Bishop Prideaux, and Drs. Hammond and Sanderson; but the

[1] *Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, edited by Alex. F. Mitchell, D.D.

King having declared the Assembly illegal, they withdrew at an early stage. All the English divines were in Episcopal orders, and many of them would have gladly accepted the establishment of a modified Episcopacy. The Presbyterians were divided into two classes—those who maintained Presbytery as of divine right, and those who maintained it as simply useful and expedient. Among the former were the Scottish Commissioners, and among the latter was Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, and author of the General Thanksgiving in the Book of Common Prayer. The Independents were led by Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye. The most distinguished Erastians were Lightfoot and John Selden.

The result of the labours of the Assembly remains in the Westminster *Confession of Faith*, the *Larger Catechism*, the *Shorter Catechism*, the *Directory for Public Worship*, and the metrical version of *The Psalms* still in use. The Confession, ratified by Parliament, became for a time the official creed of both England and Scotland. "It is," as Dean Stanley has said, "the only Confession of Faith which was ever imposed on the whole of the United Kingdom. The Thirty-nine Articles never extended beyond the limits of Berwick-upon-Tweed, but the Confession of Faith reigned with undisputed supremacy for ten years, under the authority of Parliament, from Cape Wrath to the Land's End."[1] In the course of events, however, it was so completely set aside in England that it has commonly come to be regarded as a Scottish composition! The Westminster Assembly numbered at least 140 members, and the only Scotsmen actually present were John, Lord Maitland, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale; Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston; Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Baillie, and George Gillespie. The effect of this Westminster Alliance was to make Scotland more Puritanic than it had ever been before. Not a few of the customs which, whether right or wrong, Englishmen are apt to

[1] *Westminster Confession of Faith*; in *Macmillan's Magazine*, August 1881.

view with most surprise owe their origin to English influence, and were at first received with distrust.

The Westminster Confession was accepted by the General Assembly on the understanding that it was "in nothing contrary to the received doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of this Kirk." Its standard of doctrine had hitherto been the Confession of Faith of 1560, which was, as we have seen, prefaced by the declaration that if any man should point out any error therein he should "receive reformation of that which he should prove to be amiss." The standard of worship, discipline, and government had been the Books of Discipline and the Book of Common Order. One of the reasons for which the Westminster Assembly met was "to settle the Liturgy of the Church of England." This "settlement" was found in a resolution to abolish it, but the terms of the resolution are worthy of remembrance: "Not from any love to novelty or intention to disparage our first reformers, of whom we are persuaded that, were they now alive, they would join with us in this work, . . . but that we may in some measure answer the gracious providence of God which at this time calleth upon us for further reformation, and may answer the expectation of other reformed Churches, and withal give some public testimony of our endeavours for uniformity in divine worship, we have . . . resolved to lay aside the former Liturgy, . . . and have agreed upon this following Directory."

Grievous times of strife, external and internal, lay before the Church, and upwards of forty years were yet to elapse ere the Westminster Confession was to be finally ratified as its legal "standard."

While the Assembly of Divines continued their sittings at Westminster, stirring events were taking place elsewhere. In England the army of the Parliament had gained the victories of Marston and of Naseby, Archbishop Laud had been executed, and Oliver Cromwell had become a great power in the land. In Scotland the King's cause had for a time received new life from

the brilliant exploits of the **Marquis of Montrose.** Montrose had signed the Covenant of 1638, and had zealously supported it. But whether because he viewed with distrust the growing influence of Argyll, or because he believed that the King had conceded enough, or because the Covenanters had deserted their original position and had grown more revolutionary in their spirit, he became one of the most deadly enemies of the Solemn League and Covenant. He swept over the country like a tornado, carrying all before him, till his career was checked by his defeat by General Leslie at Philiphaugh, 13th September 1645.

The fortunes of the Civil War induced the King to seek shelter with the Scots; but the Scots most unfortunately handed him back to the English. After various attempts at negotiation, his sad life was ended at Whitehall on 30th January 1649. The Scottish Church and nation, though they had contended against his unconstitutional acts, were no enemies of monarchy, and at once hastened to acknowledge Charles the Second as King. But when Montrose again raised the royal standard, the Estates sent an army against him, as they insisted on the King subscribing the Covenant. Montrose was defeated, and after wandering among the hills of Assynt, was betrayed and executed. Montrose is rightly remembered as the model of heroic loyalty; it is sometimes forgotten that he remained loyal to his Church as well as to his King. "The Covenant which I took," so he declared in expectation of death, "I own it, and adhere to it. Bishops, I care not for them, I never intended to advance their interest. But when the King had granted you all your desires, and you were every one sitting under his vine and under his fig-tree, that then you should have taken a party in England by the hand, and entered into a League and Covenant with them against the King, was the thing I judged it my duty to oppose to the yondmost."[1]

That "party in England" whom the Covenanters had

[1] *Montrose and the Covenanters*; in *Blackwood's Magazine*, December 1887.

"taken by the hand" was now become an object of hostility to the Covenanters themselves. But nothing could stay the victorious course of Oliver Cromwell. He put the Covenanters to rout at Dunbar; he forbade the meeting of the General Assembly; he assumed for a time the internal control of the Church. His power was increased by dissensions within the Church between the **Resolutioners** and the **Protesters.** The Resolutioners were those who were willing to admit to public offices such as might have acted against the Covenant. The Protesters were those who would not hear of such toleration. The leaders of the Resolutioners were **Robert Douglas,** apparently one of the wisest and most disinterested leaders by whom the destinies of the Church were ever swayed; David Dickson; and Robert Baillie. The leaders of the Protesters were Patrick Gillespie; James Guthrie; and **Samuel Rutherford.** Cromwell's favour was naturally extended to the Protesters, and by his help and the help of his soldiers they proved the stronger for a time. It was by them that Fast Days and multiplied services at the Communion were originated. "Scotland can never forget the Protesters who were martyred at the Restoration, nor those who stood by the Church in her ruins; but it is not less important to remember the lesson taught by the divisions that preceded."[1]

§ 2.—The Restoration of Episcopacy

The gloom of the Commonwealth was to be succeeded by the license of the Restoration. Charles the Second made his triumphal entry into London in May 1660. The "Merry Monarch" had sworn the Solemn League and Covenant, as he would have sworn anything that served his purpose; but he was not long installed in power till he proved how little reliance could be placed upon his word. The old spirit of oppression began to

[1] Introduction to *Book of Common Order*; edited by G. W. Sprott, D.D., and Thos. Leishman, D.D.

show itself. The Marquis of Argyll (who had crowned the King at Scone the year before), Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, and James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, perished on the scaffold. An act rescinding the legislation of the past twenty years and virtually re-establishing Episcopacy, was passed. Again a number of clergymen went up to Westminster Abbey to be consecrated, and this time they were not only consecrated but reordained. This reordination was performed in private, and was not accepted by them as in any way acknowledging the invalidity of their previous ordination. Among those men were two who stand out prominently, the one as the noblest, the other as the most time-serving ecclesiastic of his day, **Robert Leighton** and James Sharp. It was the dream of Leighton's life to effect a reconciliation of Presbytery and Episcopacy: for this, and for no sordid motive, he became successively Bishop of Dunblane and Archbishop of Glasgow. Disappointed in the aims with which he accepted office, he spent his later days in retirement in Sussex, having earned, if ever man did, the blessing of the peacemaker. Sharp, on the other hand, by his manifest selfishness earned general detestation: although no word can be said in defence of the ruffians and fanatics by whom the old man was, before his daughter's face, savagely murdered on Magus Muir, near St. Andrews, on 3d May 1679.

But neither can a word be said in defence of the atrocious measures which were adopted to ensure the acceptance of Episcopacy. The alliance of the Protesters with Cromwell had no doubt tended to confirm the Government in the erroneous belief that Presbytery was incompatible with the stability of the throne; but it is vain to say that only against political agitation was action taken, and that religious liberty was not interfered with. The boot and the thumbscrew were used for the purpose of enforcing submission to bishops, as certainly as ever the rack and the stake were used for the purpose of enforcing submission to the Pope. It serves no good end to stir up old feuds and try to

apportion to each side its exact amount of blame. We may, like Sir Walter Scott's "Henry Morton" in *Old Mortality*, be repelled by the "gloomy fanaticism" of some of the Covenanters, "their abhorrent condemnation of all elegant studies or innocent exercises, and the envenomed rancour of their political hatred." But, like him also, we must be "still more revolted by the tyrannical and oppressive conduct of the Government, the misrule, license, and brutality of the soldiery, the executions on the scaffold, the slaughters in the open field, the free quarters and exactions imposed by military law, which placed the lives and fortunes of a free people on a level with Asiatic slaves." We should no more think of defending the treatment which the Covenanters received after the Battle of Bothwell Bridge than we should think of extolling the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland after the Battle of Culloden. The Greyfriars' Churchyard, Blackness, the Bass Rock, Dunnottar Castle still speak of scenes of inhumanity for which no excuse can be offered. Claverhouse may not have been the fiend he was represented; the heroism of "Bonnie Dundee" inclines us to forget the harshness of "Bloody Clavers"; but he certainly executed his commission with needless severity. Sir Thomas Dalziel of Binns and Grierson of Lag treated suspected persons with yet greater barbarity. John Brown of Priesthill, shot at his own door, Margaret Wilson and Margaret Maclauchlan, tied to stakes in Wigtown Bay, will ever rightly be ranked amongst martyrs for faith and freedom.

The consequence of all this was that the more the Covenanters were persecuted the more resolute they became, and parties more narrow and intense arose. The renunciation of allegiance to the King by the followers of Richard Cameron, who fell at Air's Moss, Auchinleck, was a desperate act which could hardly be passed by; and yet it was only an example which the Churches and nations both of England and of Scotland would in the course of eight years be compelled to follow. New tests were imposed: clergy were obliged for conscience sake

to leave their parishes; and imprisonment, torture, and execution were not rare. The sincerity of James II appears in happy contrast with the utter lack of principle by which Charles was marked; for if Charles would have sworn anything, James "lost three kingdoms for a mass"; yet the reign of James was even more vexatious; and at length driven to extremities, England and Scotland, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, combined in calling to the throne his son-in-law, William, Prince of Orange.

Amid the confusion of the Revolution, it was natural, if not commendable, that the Covenanters should take revenge on their oppressors. On Christmas Day, 1688, the "rabbling of the curates" began; in the course of a few months, about two hundred of the more unpopular Episcopal clergymen in the south-west of Scotland were rudely expelled from their parishes by organised mobs of peasantry. But not a few Episcopal clergymen remained unmolested in their parishes till their deaths; and even to those who were expelled generous help was sometimes given by their Presbyterian brethren.

CHAPTER VII

1688–1712

§ 1.—The Revolution Settlement

WILLIAM OF ORANGE had been brought up as a Presbyterian, but he did not hold the "divine right of Presbytery." Had the Episcopalians been able to show that they were the Church of the Scottish nation, or that they were well affected towards his rule, he would have supported them, and Episcopacy might have been established in Scotland as well as in England. But as their representative, Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, was so impolitic, if so honest, as to promise allegiance only "so far as law, reason, or conscience would allow them,' William naturally could not support those whose loyalty was so questionable. He saw the force of the contention that the ecclesiastical polity of the kingdom which had been "reformed from Popery by Presbyters" should be Presbyterian. At the same time, he made it plain that there must henceforth be religious toleration. "I will not," he declared, "lay myself under any obligation to be a persecutor." In ratifying the Presbyterian Church government as the only government of Christ's Church in the kingdom, he was careful to explain that this only meant "the government of the Church in this kingdom established by law."

Thus, after a reign of twenty-eight years, Episcopacy was again flung off, and the General Assembly, which had not sat since it was dismissed by Cromwell in July 1653, met

in October 1690. The Lord High Commissioner read a message from the King: "We expect that your management shall be such as we shall have no reason to repent of what we have done. We never could be of the mind that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion, nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party. Moderation is what religion requires, neighbouring Churches expect from, and we recommend to you." "This," as Dean Stanley has aptly said, "this was the true Revolution Settlement, in the highest sense of the word; this was the call to which on the whole the Church of Scotland from that time since has remained faithful." But it was a "settlement" which could gratify extreme partisans on neither side. Those who held Episcopacy to be necessary to the existence of the Church could not, of course, approve of the Church throwing off Episcopacy, even although Episcopal clergymen were allowed to remain unmolested in their parishes; extreme Presbyterians could not be satisfied even with the triumph of Presbytery so long as the Solemn League and Covenant was ignored.

The most notable Scottish ecclesiastic of the time was **William Carstares,** Principal of the University of Edinburgh. To his sagacity and unselfishness the Church, in that critical period, was unspeakably indebted. On account of the influence which he wielded he was popularly called "Cardinal Carstares." "Tried in troublous times," as the tablet to his memory in St. Giles' expresses it, "by imprisonment, torture, and exile, he was faithful to the cause of his Church and country, and, trusted alike by the sovereign and the people, was able to guide the policy which effected the revolution of 1688 and the union of 1707." It was to his boldness and promptness that on one memorable occasion an irreparable breach between the King and the Church was averted. At the instigation of some of those advisers by whom the fiendish massacre of Glencoe was contrived, William had consented to the exaction of an oath from the clergy, whereby they should declare him

to be King by right as well as in fact. This would have pressed unduly upon such Episcopal clergymen as still retained their livings, and by Presbyterian clergy it was regarded as an insult. This unreadiness to accept the oath was represented to William as tantamount to disloyalty, and he, in his resentment, ordered that the Assembly should be summoned, and that each member should take the oath without delay. On learning this, Carstares stopped the King's messenger who bore the fatal despatch, and in the King's name commanded him to give it up; he then hurried to Kensington, and insisted on seeing the King, who was asleep. Falling on his knees beside the bed, "I am come," said Carstares, "to beg my life." The King at first was furious at the liberty which had been taken, but a few minutes sufficed to show that Carstares had done what was best for the Government as well as for the Church. The letter was thrown into the fire, and the Church was free.

When Carstares died in 1715, he was lamented by all ranks and all parties. At his funeral in Greyfriars' Churchyard, among the most deeply-moved mourners were two Episcopal clergymen who had been long supported by his bounty. There are few names which, for disinterested services and stainless character, deserve to be held in more grateful remembrance by the Church than the name of William Carstares.

§ 2.—The Union

The union between the Parliaments of England and Scotland was effected in 1707, in the reign of Queen Anne; not without much opposition; for national jealousy was difficult to remove. "Prosperity to Scotland and no Union" was a motto commonly inscribed on sword-blades of the period. "I see in vision," was a famous utterance of Lord Belhaven's, which made a profound impression at the time, "Scottish barons, lawyers, merchants, gentry, artisans, all alike ruined: I think I see our ancient mother Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the

midst of our senate, ruefully looking round her, covering herself with her royal mantle, awaiting the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with the exclamation, 'And thou, too, my son.'" Lord Marchmont readily retorted that the close of this speech should be, "I awoke, and behold it was a dream." But for a while it was a dream which threatened to prove true. Old animosities revived, and strange coalitions were formed. Cameronians and Jacobites, who hated each other so much, hated the Union more, and combined, although in vain, to overthrow it.

It was to be expected that amid the general unsettlement there would be attempts to upset the Church. Such attempts were made, but failed. Other distinctively Scottish institutions disappeared, but the Church remained; and in the ratification of the treaty it was agreed that the first oath to be hereafter taken by the Sovereign should be to maintain "the government, worship, discipline, rights, and privileges of the Church of Scotland." There were some who grumbled against Presbytery being established in Scotland, while Episcopacy was established in England, but the Archbishop of Canterbury, Tenison, quelled this opposition by saying, "The narrow notions of all Churches have been their ruin. I believe the Church of Scotland to be as true a Protestant Church as the Church of England, though it may not be so perfect."

At the time of the Union, so tolerant had the spirit of the Church been ever since the Revolution, "there were a hundred and sixty-five Episcopal ministers still within the pale of the Establishment, living in the manses, preaching in the pulpits, and drawing the stipends." But to those Episcopal clergy who would not conform to the Presbyterian government, and who attempted to set up meetings of their own, the same toleration was not extended. Those who, when they were in power, had been able to see only the evils of nonconformity, now that they were nonconformists themselves, became as zealous advocates of liberty of conscience as any

Covenanter could have been. Those who, when they were persecuted, could see only the evils of being forced to worship in modes which they did not approve, now that they had the power in their own hands, did not see the beauty of religious liberty so clearly as before. In 1712 an Act of Toleration was passed, whereby Episcopal clergymen who were ready to renounce allegiance to the exiled family obtained liberty to use the Church of England "Liturgy." Strange as it may seem, no Prayer-Book had up till this time been in general use in the services of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Stranger still, the rite of Confirmation had been almost entirely laid aside since the Reformation. There were, indeed, scarcely any perceptible differences between the ritual of the Episcopalians and of the Presbyterians. One difference seems to have been that Episcopalians stood, and Presbyterians sat, at prayer. Both Presbyterians and Episcopalians received the Communion sitting.

The same year which saw "the Scottish Episcopal Communion tolerated and allowed by an Act of Queen Anne" saw another Act passed, which was to be the source of inconceivable strife. Contrary to the wish of Principal Carstares and other wise leaders of the Church, Lay Patronage was restored. Its origin goes back to the days when a baron building a church naturally appointed him who was to minister in it. In 1690 it had been agreed that the nomination of a minister should be vested in the heritors and elders, that the nomination must be approved by the parishioners, and that if disapproved the Presbytery must decide. Now in 1712 the right of presentation was vested either in the Crown or in private patrons; and the power of the people to object to unacceptable clergymen was greatly curtailed.

CHAPTER VIII

1712–1765

§ 1.—The First Secession

So far back as 1646 a book entitled *The Marrow of Modern Divinity* had been published by Edward Fisher, an Oxford Master of Arts. A copy of this work had found its way into a humble cottage of the now suppressed parish of Simprin, of which Thomas Boston was minister at the end of the seventeenth century. Boston read the book, was delighted with it, and lent it to friends. One of these, James Hog, minister of Carnock, thought so highly of it that in 1718 he republished it with a preface. Discussion was prevailing at the time concerning the unguarded language which some preachers used as to "the needlessness of forsaking sin in order to come to Christ." There can be no doubt that these excellent men intended to encourage holiness, not to depreciate it; but their language gave ample opportunity for such misconstruction. *The Marrow of Modern Divinity* was supposed to inculcate this dangerous doctrine, and immediately it attracted attention. It was denounced from many pulpits, and in 1720 the General Assembly condemned its teaching, and enjoined ministers "to warn and exhort their people in whose hands the said book is, or may come, not to read or use the same." Against this decision **Ebenezer Erskine**, minister of Portmoak, and others protested. For this protest they were rebuked by the General Assembly of 1722; but even

in accepting the rebuke they asserted that they would still consider it lawful "to bear testimony unto the truths condemned."

Erskine was doomed to come into yet more deadly collision with the Church. The General Assembly of 1732 having enacted as a modification of the law of Patronage that a minister should be chosen by "the majority of the elders and heritors, if Protestants," considerable dissatisfaction was aroused. No voice was given to congregations, and the patrons did not require to belong to the Scottish Church. The Assembly was thus virtually stamping with approval what had been previously accepted as a mere expedient. This new "defection," as it seemed to him, roused the indignation of Erskine, who was now minister of Stirling. As Moderator of the Synod of Perth and Stirling, he preached a sermon attacking the measure and its promoters so vehemently that the Synod, instead of the customary thanks, gave him a vote of censure. He appealed to the Assembly, which more strongly confirmed the censure of the Synod. Lodging an indignant protest against this treatment, Erskine and three other ministers who adhered to his protest were summoned to appear before the Commission of Assembly, and, as they showed no symptom of submission, it was agreed, by the casting vote of the Moderator, "to proceed immediately to inflict a higher censure." For this higher censure of deposition they did not wait; but in December 1733 formed themselves into an "Associate Presbytery" at Gairney Bridge, near Kinross. Although refusing to hold communion with the ministers of the Church, they continued in possession of their own pulpits. The feeling gained ground that they had been summarily dealt with; the sentence of deposition was not carried out, the enactments which had specially excited their hostility were repealed, they were invited to resume their old seats in their several presbyteries, and Ebenezer Erskine was actually elected Moderator of the Presbytery of Stirling; but all to no purpose. The Seceders were intractable. If they were

at first treated with undue harshness, it is only fair to say that they were afterwards treated with amazing leniency and patience. Having tried every conceivable method of conciliation, the weary Church at length formally deposed them in 1740. They were good men, and this result must be regretted; but it was mainly due to their own unreasonableness.

When Whitefield came to Scotland, the Seceders, who had at first been inclined to welcome him, would have nothing to do with him when they found that he would preach for others as well as for them. The repeal of the cruel laws against witchcraft appeared to them amongst those evils which cried to Heaven for judgment upon the nation. Possessed with the conviction that they alone were "the Lord's people," they were to split from one another as violently as they had split from the Church. A controversy arose as to whether it was lawful for burgesses to take an oath that they adhered to "the true religion presently professed within this realm and authorised by the laws thereof." Those who believed that it was lawful were called **Burghers**; those who believed that it was unlawful were called **Anti-burghers.** The strife went from less to more till the parties would have no fellowship with each other. The fact which would be strangely ludicrous were it not strangely mournful remains, that at the time of his death in 1754 Ebenezer Erskine himself had been for four years excommunicated by the Anti-burgher section: "Cast out from the communion of the Church of Christ, declared to be of those whom the Lord Christ commandeth to be holden by all and every one of the faithful as heathen men and publicans, delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

Thus took place the First Secession from the Church of Scotland; and it will be observed that even by the most extreme Seceders there was no thought of exalting into a principle the separation of Church and State, or what is now termed Voluntaryism.

§ 2.—The Second Secession

For the Second Secession from her ranks the Church appears to have been much more responsible than for the first. Possibly from the manner in which her attempts at conciliation had been received by the Associate Presbytery there was less disposition to leniency towards those who quitted the beaten track. The Church had suffered so much from fanaticism that, to a rapidly-increasing party, maintenance of order seemed the one object to be aimed at. A counter-fanaticism of moderation set in. The authority of the General Assembly must be kept up at all hazards; the complaints of congregations or of inferior courts were of little consequence. As a reaction from previous "high" notions, the tendency now was to regard the Church too much as a mere department of the State, and the clergy as mere Government officials.

A certain Mr. Richardson had been presented to the parish of Inverkeithing. The parishioners did not wish him, and six members of the Presbytery declined to ordain him. The insubordination could not be borne, and the General Assembly of 1752 decided that an example should be made. The six were equally guilty, but it was strangely resolved that only one of the six, **Thomas Gillespie**, minister of Carnock, should be deposed. The motion for his deposition was made by John Home, minister of Athelstaneford, afterwards author of *Douglas*, and seconded by William Robertson, minister of Gladsmuir, afterwards the famous historian. On receiving sentence, Gillespie mildly said, "I desire to receive this sentence with real concern and awful impressions of the Divine conduct in it, but I rejoice that to me it is given in Christ's behalf, not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake." Gillespie was so amiable a man, and the treatment meted out to him appeared to be so unnecessarily severe, that he soon had many sympathisers both among the clergy and the laity. As it was relief from patronage that they sought, the separate body which they speedily formed was known as the "**Relief**

Synod." Their manner of action was, however, very different from that of Erskine and his followers. Gillespie would not again enter the pulpit from which he had been deposed, but he cherished no enmity towards the Church, and would fain have been restored to her communion. It was among his dying requests that the congregation which had faithfully adhered to him should if possible return to the Church of Scotland; and his clerical associates seem to have desired recognition as an organisation within the Church, and to have repudiated the idea of necessary separation. But unfortunately all approaches on the part of the Relief body were rejected by the Church as summarily as all approaches on the part of the Church had been rejected by the First Seceders.

The right of patronage was occasionally exercised in so arbitrary a manner as to lead to scenes of disgraceful rioting. An instance may be given of the spirit of bitterness which such intrusion created. An aged minister had been presented to the parish of St. Ninian's, but the opposition of the people had delayed his induction for about seven years. At length, however, all opposition was overborne, and the Presbytery met for his induction. But instead of the customary address on the duties of the pastoral office, the moderator vehemently adjured the presentee to resign. "I would rather go twenty miles to see you deposed than inducted to this charge. I conjure you by the mercies of God to give it up. I conjure you by the peace of mind you would wish in a dying man, and by the awful account you must render to God of your own soul and of the souls of this parish, give it up." But the old man replied, "I forgive you, sir, for what you have now said; may God forgive you: proceed to obey the orders of your superiors." And the induction went on accordingly.

Such scenes were not general; many patrons used the responsibility entrusted to them with great judiciousness and care. But every instance of intrusion spread a feeling of dissatisfaction far beyond the particular parish in which it occurred. Meanwhile, the population was

growing, and nothing was done to provide additional church accommodation. Thus it came to pass that the General Assembly of 1765 was obliged to take into consideration the rapid increase of dissent. It was asserted that there were in existence "a hundred and twenty meeting-houses, to which more than a hundred thousand persons resorted." A committee which was appointed to inquire into the subject reported to the following Assembly that, in their opinion, Patronage was a main cause of schism, and that steps to check its abuses should be taken. But this proposal was, after a keen debate, defeated by a majority of ninety-nine to eighty-five.

CHAPTER IX

1765–1835

§ 1.—THE "MODERATES"

THE latter part of the eighteenth century, during which the "Moderate" party was in power, has been painted in very dark colours. That there were abuses crying for reform; that there was apathy among the clergy and indifference among the laity; that distinctively Christian doctrines were kept in the background; that the habits even of the clergy were often too convivial, can hardly be questioned. The great religious excitement of the year was the celebration of the Holy Communion, which in some districts occasionally degenerated into such a scene of revelry as Burns has satirised. Sunday schools were decried; and when in the Assembly of 1796 a proposal was made to send a mission to the heathen, it was rejected. Some of these glaring faults were, however, the faults of the age, and were not confined to the "Moderates."[1] It would be as unfair to say that all "Moderates" were gluttons and winebibbers, as it would be to say that all "Evangelicals" had devils and were mad.

Whatever we may think of their ecclesiastical policy, the leaders of the Moderate party were men of remark-

[1] "In 1796 the Anti-burghers, in general synod, passed a resolution against missionary societies; and the Cameronians excommunicated one of their number for having attended a missionary sermon preached by Dr. Balfour.—See *Lives of the Haldanes*, p. 260.' —*Church History of Scotland*, by John Cunningham, D.D.

able ability and of stainless character. **William Robertson,** Principal of the University of Edinburgh, was one of the greatest historians that our country has ever produced. The merit of his works is not to be estimated simply by what they are in themselves, but by a comparison of them with the histories which had been hitherto in vogue. His eminence in the world of letters doubtless helped to secure him in the almost dictatorial position which for many years he occupied in the Church. With much of his administration we may not agree, but we cannot deny to him the praise of honesty, public spirit, and foresight. He was offered high preferment in the Church of England, but declined it. His remark to Dr. Johnson in London has not yet lost its point: "In one respect I have the advantage of you. When you were in Scotland you would not come to hear any of our preachers; whereas, when I come here I attend your public worship without scruple, and indeed with great satisfaction."

It has been brought as a charge against the Moderate leaders, that they were too intimate with David Hume. At any rate they tried to refute him. One of the ablest answers to his *Essay on Miracles* came from the pen of **George Campbell,** Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, now best remembered as the author of the *Philosophy of Rhetoric.* There are few more laudable incidents in the history of religious controversy than the fact that before publishing this reply, Campbell submitted it to Hume's inspection in order that any misstatements might be corrected. All Campbell's writings are distinguished by a similar candour and openness of mind. No clearer statement of the theological position of the Moderates can be found than his sermon, *The Spirit of the Gospel, a Spirit neither of Superstition nor of Enthusiasm.* "A higher specimen of the Christian minister and theologian," says Principal Tulloch, "can hardly be conceived than Dr. Campbell, or a more noble example of a luminous, thoughtful, and candid intellect, consecrated to the highest objects without any thought

or hope of reward beyond the consciousness of truth and duty."[1]

The most popular preacher of his day was **Dr. Hugh Blair.** His Sermons, although the production of "a Scotsman and a Presbyterian," extorted the highest praise from Dr. Samuel Johnson. It was the desire of King George III that Blair's Sermons should be in the hands of every youth in the United Kingdom; and their circulation was marvellous. The admiration which they excited was undoubtedly excessive; but they are not so utterly devoid of definite Christian teaching as is sometimes supposed.

It was an age with many faults, yet it was not an age of which the Church can be wholly ashamed. In literary activity hardly any age has excelled it. The works of Campbell and of Macknight bear witness to its Biblical scholarship. The compilation of the *Paraphrases* speaks something for its devotional feeling. In the field of History, not only Principal Robertson, but Robert Henry, the historian of *Great Britain*; Robert Watson, the historian of *Philip II*; and Adam Ferguson, the historian of the *Roman Republic*, were ministers of the Church. In the field of Philosophy, Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, and Thomas Brown were all sons of the Manse, though Reid alone was in orders. When Reid was presented to the parish of New Machar, the parishioners were ready to fight to keep him out, but ere his ministry was ended they were ready to fight to keep him with them. In the field of Poetry, there was Home's tragedy of *Douglas*. Alas for the mutability of taste! Although when *Douglas* was first acted in London its success was so tremendous that a patriotic Scot could exclaim in triumph over the envious Englishmen who witnessed the performance, "Whaur's your Wullie Shakespeare noo?" hardly a line of it survives in memory, except "My name is Norval!" The *Lectures in Divinity* of the successor of Robertson as

[1] "Dean Stanley and the Scotch Moderates," in the *Contemporary Review*, October 1872.

leader of the Moderate party, Principal **George Hill**, although not published till after his death, remain as a seldom surpassed example of fairness and clearness. And if there was in some circles an amount of conviviality which would not now be tolerated, we must not forget the staid, rational piety by which many humble homes were adorned. If it was the age of the "Holy Fair," it was also the age of the "Cotter's Saturday Night."

There was reason for the boast of Alexander Carlyle, minister of Inveresk, in advocating an augmentation of the stipends of the clergy: "I must confess that I do not love to hear this Church called a poor Church, or the poorest Church in Christendom. . . . We are rich in the best goods a Church can have—the learning, the manners, and the character of its members. There are few branches of literature in which the ministers of the Church have not excelled. There are few subjects of fine writing in which they do not stand foremost in the rank of authors, which is a prouder boast than all the pomp of the Hierarchy. We have men who have successfully enlightened the world in almost every branch, not to mention treatises in defence of Christianity, or eloquent illustrations of every branch of Christian doctrine and morals. Who have written the best histories, ancient and modern? It has been clergymen of this Church. Who has written the clearest delineation of the human understanding and all its powers? A clergyman of this Church. Who has written the best system of rhetoric, and exemplified it by his own orations? A clergyman of this Church. Who wrote a tragedy that has been deemed perfect? A clergyman of this Church. Who was the most profound mathematician of the age he lived in? A clergyman of this Church. Who is his successor, in reputation as in office? Who wrote the best treatise on agriculture? Let us not complain of poverty, for it is a splendid poverty indeed!"

If the Moderates were mainly though not wholly to blame for the discouragement of Foreign Missions in 1796, it is right to remember that the actual founding of

the India Mission in 1829 is due to one of their number, Dr. John Inglis, minister of Old Greyfriars'. Of him a strong partisan of the Evangelical side has said that he was "distinguished by remarkable clearness and soundness of judgment, candour, sincerity, and frankness of mind, and a calm personal piety, deepening as he drew near the close of his life, and rendering his last years both the loveliest and the best."[1] It was a Moderate, Principal Baird, who founded the Education Scheme, which in its day did admirable service, especially in the Highlands and Islands. It was a Moderate, Principal Macfarlan, who founded the Colonial Scheme, which still carries on its beneficent work of ministering to the exiled children of the Church.

§ 2.—THE "EVANGELICALS"

Even in the days when the Moderates were most completely in the ascendant, there never ceased to be a more or less numerous section of the clergy who laid special stress upon soundness of doctrine, and aimed at producing a more spiritual religion than the "mere morality" of Moderatism. To this section had belonged Thomas Boston, author of the *Fourfold State*; Maclaurin, author of the sermon *Glorying in the Cross of Christ*; John Willison, author of the *Afflicted Man's Companion*. The Seceders had refused to countenance Whitefield, and had attributed to Satanic agency the success of his labours; but pulpits of the Church were placed at his disposal, and it was to the profound devotion of some of her clergy, rather than to his own impassioned appeals, that the most striking manifestations of religious fervour which occurred during his visit, owed their existence.

The Moderate party had been distinguished by its tolerance and enlightenment. The Evangelical party had been distinguished by its zeal for orthodoxy. In one remarkable episode they were to change sides. The

[1] *History of Church of Scotland*, by W. M. Hetherington, D.D.

Town Council of Edinburgh had, in the year 1805, presented Mr., afterwards Sir John, Leslie to the Chair of Mathematics in the University. He was, beyond dispute, fitted by his acquirements and his reputation for the post. But Dr. Thomas Macknight, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was also a candidate. Although his claims were inferior to those of his rival, he was a man of ability, and he was backed by the influence of the Moderate clergy. In supporting him they adopted a policy which might more naturally have been expected from an opposite school. They raised the cry of "heresy," quoting passages from the writings of Leslie to prove that he was an "infidel." The Evangelical clergy ranged themselves on Leslie's side, and for the time being were the champions of liberty of thought. As, in those days, all professors in Universities had to sign the Westminster Confession, a candidate who could not establish his orthodoxy was disqualified from holding even the Chair of Mathematics. The appointment was the subject of prolonged discussion in the General Assembly, and when eventually the opposition to Leslie was overthrown by a decided majority, it was felt that the power of the Moderate party had waned. It is a curious circumstance that while several of the more purely religious developments of the Church owed their existence to the Moderates, several of the most beneficial secular developments owed their existence to the Evangelicals. The Ministers' Widows' Fund was originated in 1742 by Dr. Alex. Webster of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh. Savings Banks were instituted in 1810 by Dr. Henry Duncan, minister of Ruthwell.

The leader of the "Evangelicals," during the days of Moderate ascendancy, had been the colleague of Principal Robertson in Greyfriars', **Dr. John Erskine.** A man of fervent piety, he was also characterised by great liberality of sentiment. He dedicated one of his works to Principal Campbell; he preached the funeral sermon of Principal Robertson. He wrote many treatises; he was a popular preacher; but he is now best remembered

by a reference to him in *Guy Mannering*: "Although the discourse could not be quoted as a correct specimen of pulpit eloquence, yet Mannering had seldom heard so much learning, metaphysical acuteness, and energy of argument, brought into the service of Christianity. 'Such,' he said, going out of the church, 'must have been the preachers to whose unfearing minds, and acute though sometimes rudely exercised talents, we owe the Reformation.' 'And yet that reverend gentleman,' said Pleydell, 'whom I love for his father's sake and his own, has nothing of the sour or pharisaical pride which has been imputed to some of the early fathers of the Calvinistic Kirk of Scotland. His colleague and he differ, and head different parties in the Kirk, about particular points of church discipline, but without for a moment losing personal regard or respect for each other, or suffering malignity to interfere in an opposition, steady, constant, and apparently conscientious on both sides.'"

In the leadership of the Evangelical party Dr. Erskine was succeeded by **Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood**, minister of St. Cuthbert's. Whether from his high personal qualities, or from the general revival of religious feeling, the party obtained during his reign an influence which it had never before exercised. But in the ranks of his followers there were some who, by their force of character and their abilities, were to attain to yet greater eminence. **Dr. Andrew Thomson**, minister of St. George's, Edinburgh, wielded a wonderful influence both as a preacher and as a platform speaker. He was an uncompromising denouncer of the Slave Trade. It was mainly by his exertions that the Apocryphal books ceased to be bound up with the Canonical Scriptures. He edited a periodical entitled the *Christian Instructor*, which did much service in propagating the principles of the Evangelical party. Appearing in public as an intellectual gladiator, and as the champion of a somewhat narrow and severe type of theology, he was in private an enthusiastic musician, and the most genial of men.

But greater than any, **Thomas Chalmers** rose on the ecclesiastical horizon. Appointed in the beginning of the century, while a very young man, to the parish of Kilmany in Fifeshire, he had from the first been distinguished by intellectual vigour. His tastes lay in the direction of natural science. He had so different an ideal of the pastoral office from that which he afterwards held, that he openly maintained and tried to prove in practice the possibility and propriety of a country clergyman devoting five days a week to scientific pursuits, and of having more than sufficient time in the remaining two to discharge his own special duties faithfully! The knowledge which he acquired in those years was of great value to him in his future career; and such studies he never depreciated, but, after the great spiritual change which came over him, he used them as subsidiary to his true work in life, the proclamation of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord. Under "the expulsive power" of that "new affection," his whole being was transformed, and he became one of the great preachers of the world. Transferred to Glasgow, first in the Tron Parish, then in St. John's, he not only stirred multitudes by his eloquence, but devised and carried out measures for the relief of the poor, and for again bringing within the influence of the Church those who had become strangers to her ministrations. The growth of the population had made the existing church accommodation quite inadequate. Chalmers set himself to supply this want. He endeavoured to enlist the Government on his side, and to get them to build the needful churches. Thwarted in this, he appealed for voluntary subscriptions, and chapels of ease sprang up all over the country. The Home Mission of the Church, as it exists to-day, is, with some necessary changes, merely the continuation of Chalmers's great scheme of "Church Accommodation" or "Church Extension."

CHAPTER X

1817–1835

§ 1.—The Row Controversy

THE peace of the Church had occasionally been disturbed by trials for heresy. In 1729 Professor Simson of Glasgow had been sentenced to perpetual suspension from his chair for denying the Eternal Sonship of Christ. In 1744 Professor Leechman of Glasgow had been accused of holding that prayer was valueless except for its reflex influence, and had been acquitted, the Moderator of the General Assembly in his closing address making the graceful allusion to the trial: "In that case of more than ordinary delicacy—the accusation of a professor of divinity for heresy, have we not seen the beauty of Christian charity, in condescension on the one hand to remove offence, and readiness on the other to embrace satisfaction?" In 1786 Dr. M'Gill of Ayr had been charged with a denial of the Atonement; but had made such retractations and explanations as were deemed sufficient.

In the nineteenth century the orthodoxy of the Church was to show itself in a harsher form. The spiritual movement, which in England is associated with the names of Hare, Maurice, F. W. Robertson, Stanley, had begun to spread in Scotland. There the beginning of the new era may be said to date from the publication, in 1817, of a small volume, *Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion*, by Thomas Erskine of Linlathen. To matters of ecclesiastical organisation Mr. Erskine was indifferent. Brought up in the Episcopal Church, in his later days he habitually attended the ministrations of the Church of Scotland—a fact which shows

how remarkably the teaching against which his earliest writings were a protest must have been modified. As a layman, he was under no ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but the *Christian Instructor* began to expose the dangerous tendencies of his attempts to base the authority of Christianity upon internal rather than external evidence. Dr. Andrew Thomson devoted a series of sermons to their refutation. Erskine's personal influence was wonderful, and soon his way of looking at things found earnest advocates in many quarters. "Were it allowable," said Alexandre Vinet, the famous Swiss theologian, "to say I am of Paul and I of Apollos, I should say, 'I am of Erskine.'" The religious revival on the Continent was largely attributable to this Scottish layman who seldom spoke in public, and whose writings had a limited circulation. Among those in this country who most eagerly adopted his favourite doctrines was the saintly **John Macleod Campbell,** minister of Row. Brooding over the prevalent lack of holiness, he arrived at the conclusion that it sprang from the lack of assurance of the love of God. And so he preached the necessity of this assurance in a manner so fervid and one-sided as to excite the antagonism of colder and more severely logical natures. It was greatly owing to misunderstanding; clearer definitions would have shown that he was in harmony with the teaching of the Church; but it was not difficult to prove that he contravened the letter of the Westminster Confession; and sad to say, for maintaining the doctrine of "universal atonement and pardon through the death of Christ," Campbell was deposed by the General Assembly of 1831. His aged father made a most touching appeal in his behalf, and argued that the views impugned were merely different aspects of the truth which all of them held. "But," said the old man, "I do not stand here to deprecate your wrath. I am not afraid for my son. Though his brethren cast him out, the Master whom he serves will not forsake him; and while I live, I will never be ashamed to be the father of so holy and blameless a son." The appeal was of no avail. Moderates could not tolerate his mysticism;

Evangelicals could not tolerate his doctrinal laxity; and with few dissentient voices Moderates and Evangelicals united to condemn and cast him out. He spent his later days in the neighbourhood of one who had upheld him in his hour of trial, Robert Story, minister of Rosneath. In his retirement he wrote his work on the *Nature of the Atonement*, which, even by those who most strongly reject its conclusions, is regarded as a work of singular insight and spiritual power. He died in the communion of the Church, though never restored to her ministry.

Another most loyal son of the Church was soon to share the same fate. **Edward Irving**, after being the assistant of Chalmers in Glasgow, had gone to London, where his preaching created an amazing sensation. In the course of a discussion in the House of Commons regarding the revenues of the Church, stress had been laid on the inherent connection between "high talent and good pay." Canning, the famous statesman, answered, that "so far was this rule from universal, that he himself had lately heard a Scotch minister, trained in one of the most poorly endowed of Churches, and established in one of her outlying dependencies, possessed of no endowment at all, preach the most eloquent sermon that he had ever listened to." From that time Irving's church was continually crowded with a fashionable throng. His description of an Apostolical Missionary, his eulogium of the Book of Psalms, his Ordination Charge, may be cited as among the loftiest specimens of modern pulpit oratory. It is in connection with a supposed revival of the gift of tongues and the power of working miracles, that, owing to circumstances, his name is best known to many. Certain strange manifestations of this revival had taken place at Rosneath and Port-Glasgow. In these manifestations Irving was a firm believer. When similar manifestations began to show themselves in London, he welcomed them with enthusiasm, and very extraordinary scenes took place in his church. It was not, however, on account of these that he was expelled from the ministry of the Church of Scotland, but because he was accused of teaching the

sinfulness of Christ's Human Nature. In vain he repudiated the conclusions drawn from his unguarded language. In the church of Annan, the church in which he had been baptized and ordained, he was deposed by the Presbytery on the 13th of March 1833. He lived for nearly two years longer, occupying a secondary position in the communion which is popularly identified with his name. He died in December 1834, his last articulate words being, "If I die, I die unto the Lord. Amen." He lies buried in the crypt of the Cathedral of Glasgow, beneath a window on which is appropriately emblazoned the figure of John the Baptist, who came to prepare the way of the Lord.

§ 2.—The Voluntary Controversy

In none of the Secessions from the Church had the separation of Church and State been advocated. That the Church was impeded in her work by the abuse of Patronage; that she had departed from the principles embodied in those Covenants which only too emphatically asserted the right of the civil magistrate to interfere in religious matters, was the usual contention of the Seceders. The only thing with which they found fault was that the State would not take their side of the question. "The design of the Secession was not by any means to destroy the Church of Scotland, not to remove a single pin from her constitution, but to strengthen her interests by recalling her to the healthful conditions of former days." As this hope was deferred, the conviction gradually grew that it would never be fulfilled, and the doctrine of "Voluntaryism" was proclaimed. Nobody in any branch of the Universal Church ever had denied that voluntary contributions for religious purposes from private individuals were highly commendable; almost all endowments enjoyed by the Church were voluntary in their origin; but as the Seceders found that they were able to exist without the endowments which still belonged to the Church, they elevated their own experience into a universal principle, and laid it down as a dogma that

it was sinful for the Church to be endowed. Their bounden duty was to force the Church into the position which they had themselves so unwillingly occupied at first, and to make her ministers wholly dependent on the bounty of the people. But it was only by degrees, and after much opposition, that these opinions became general in the Dissenting bodies.

The first indications of the coming strife appeared in the Anti-burgher communion. There it was proposed, early in the century, to revise the teaching of the Westminster Confession with regard to the civil magistrate. This proposal was strenuously resisted among others by **Dr. Thomas M'Crie**, the biographer of Knox and Melville, and one of the greatest of Scottish nonconformists. The result of this controversy, however, was his deposition in 1807, and his being obliged to occupy a yet more isolated position. He and three other ministers formed themselves into the "Constitutional Associate Presbytery." Although his principles did not permit him to join the Church as actually established, he never ceased to maintain till his death in 1835 that there ought to be a Church national and established, and that it was the duty of every patriot and Christian to labour for its establishment on a right basis. "This controversy," it is remarked by his son, "deeply as it affected the principles after better known under the name of 'Voluntaryism,' made no impression at the time on the country at large, or the Established Church, or on the parties more immediately interested in them, and was allowed to pass unnoticed as a mere sectarian controversy."[1]

In 1820 the Burghers and Anti-burghers were united under the name of the United Secession Synod. The views against which Dr. M'Crie had protested now became more widely adopted, and by the year 1832 the "Voluntary Controversy" was agitating the country. The press teemed with pamphlets. Pulpits and platforms resounded with sermons and speeches for and

[1] *The Story of the Scottish Church*, by Thomas M'Crie, D.D., LL.D.

against the principle of "National Religion." The most prominent champions of Voluntaryism among the Presbyterian Dissenters were the Rev. Andrew Marshall, Kirkintilloch, and Dr. John Ritchie of the Potterrow, Edinburgh. It is worthy of note that the majority of the defenders of the Establishment belonged to the "Evangelical" party. The Moderates were not found wanting: Dr. Inglis's *Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments* was one of the weightiest and most temperate contributions to the discussion. But decidedly the most active and zealous orators and pamphleteers were to be found among the Evangelicals. William Cunningham, Robert Smith Candlish, Robert Buchanan, were among those by whom, in the language of one of them, "the apostasy and perjury of Voluntary Seceders" were most ruthlessly attacked. But unquestionably the most formidable and doughty champion of the Church was Dr. Chalmers. Not content with fighting the battle of his own Church, Dr. Chalmers undertook the defence of the Church of England, which was likewise assailed. He went to London and delivered a series of lectures, to which vast crowds of the most learned and fashionable people listened, and which were of great effect in beating back the assailants of the Church. He besieged the Government for help in building new places of worship; but in this he was foiled. Any attempt to make the Church more useful, or to remove any hindrance from her path, had now come to be regarded as a personal injury to Dissenters. "Dissenters," such was the extraordinary argument employed by one of their number, a man personally worthy of all esteem, "having invested money in churches and endowments on the faith of the abuses of the Establishment, it is unfair in the Government or in any liberal man to do anything towards the correction of these abuses."

Strange to say, those who fiercely fought the battles of the Church were not long to remain in her fold; those to whom Secession was a word of such evil omen were doomed within a few short years to become Seceders themselves.

CHAPTER XI

1833–1843

§ 1.—The Ten Years' Conflict

WHILST the Church was busy resisting assaults from without, division had unhappily become more rife within. The main subject of dissension was the system of Lay Patronage. The power of examining and admitting presentees had always rested with Presbyteries; and although the right of adducing objections to presentees, and of securing their rejection, should the objections prove reasonable, was seldom exercised, it had never been formally taken from parishioners. The Moderates, under the leadership of **Dr. George Cook**, believed that to meet the emergency nothing more was needed than to reassert this nearly obsolete right, the courts of the Church to be the judges of the reasonableness or the unreasonableness of the objection. The Evangelicals did not regard this proposal as sufficient, and maintained that it was the prerogative of the people to reject a presentee, even though they gave no reasons at all.

Under this impulse, the General Assembly of 1834 passed what was termed the Veto Act. By this it was declared: "That if, at the moderation of a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated, such being proved shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person." But in order somewhat to restrict the license which the Act might otherwise be held to encourage, it was further declared: "That no person shall be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly

to declare, in presence of the Presbytery, that he is actuated by no malicious or factious motives, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself and the congregation."

This Act soon brought Church courts and civil courts into collision. The Rev. Robert Young was presented by the patron, the Earl of Kinnoull, to the vacant benefice of Auchterarder. Only two persons signed the "call," and the great majority of the communicants signed a protest against his appointment. To his character or conduct or teaching no objections were offered; but, in obedience to the Veto Act, the Presbytery refused to "take trial of his qualifications." The patron and the presentee raised an action in the Court of Session, and after protracted litigation the case came for decision before the House of Lords. The decision both of the Court of Session and of the House of Lords was in favour of Mr. Young, and the Veto Act was declared illegal.

At Marnoch, in Strathbogie, the majority of the Presbytery, seven in number, determined to "take on trials" the Rev. John Edwards, though the congregation had "vetoed" him. For this act of disobedience the seven presbyters were first suspended, and afterwards, as matters became still more involved, deposed by the General Assembly. The seven, regarding their suspension as illegal, paid no heed to the sentence of the Assembly, and continued their ministrations as usual. The Assembly sent down ministers to supersede the incumbents. The Court of Session, at the request of the incumbents, interdicted the intruders. Thus the breach between the civil courts and the "popular" party in the Church courts was widened.

One other element of contention was created by the chapels of ease which had now, in great measure owing to the labours of Dr. Chalmers, become so numerous. The ministers of these chapels were placed in the anomalous position of having no seats in the courts of the Church. To put an end to this anomaly, the General Assembly, without taking even the usual

step of sending the matter down for consideration by Presbyteries, declared that ministers of chapels should henceforward be members of the Church courts. There were not a few, even of the popular party, who saw the dangers which lurked in this hasty resolution. "For myself," said Dr. Patrick Clason of Buccleuch Church, Edinburgh, who afterwards became principal clerk of the Free Church, "I will say, that highly as I would esteem the honour of sitting once more in this ecclesiastical court, as I did when the minister of a country parish, I would rather consent to forfeit that privilege for life, than witness such a hazardous innovation on the comely fabric of our establishment."[1] He appeared at the bar of the Assembly of 1834 to protest against the proposed measure as unconstitutional; and the Moderator, Dr. Patrick M'Farlan of Greenock, a leading Non-Intrusionist, and afterwards Moderator of the Free Church Assembly, expressed his strong disapproval of the Act. The effect of the measure was seen when the Presbytery of Irvine were proceeding to divide the parish of Stewarton, assigning part of it to a chapel formerly belonging to a dissenting congregation, which had, along with its minister, returned to the Church. The patron interdicted the Presbytery; litigation ensued; the Court of Session decided that, as there was a special court for the erection of parishes, the Assembly had gone beyond its province in assuming the power of erecting them; and thus the two hundred chapel ministers were deprived of their seats in Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly.

§ 2.—The Formation of the Free Church

The popular party, thwarted in their attempts to carry their measures, had begun to talk of separation. They instructed the Lord High Commissioner to the Assembly of 1842, to lay before the Queen a series of resolutions, which, it was confidently expected, would

[1] *The Late Secession from the Church of Scotland*, by James Macfarlane, D.D.

be granted. In November of the same year a private meeting of the party was held. Those who attended this "Convocation" were expressly assured beforehand that it was not meant to commit them to any "ulterior steps." As a matter of fact, carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, the members of the Convocation ere they parted were mostly pledged to form a distinct communion, if their demands were not conceded by the Legislature. That the Legislature could resist scarcely came within the range of contemplation!

On the 18th of May 1843, the Lord High Commissioner, the Marquis of Bute, held the usual *levée* at Holyrood; the retiring Moderator, Dr. Welsh, preached in the Cathedral of St. Giles; and the Assembly met in St. Andrew's Church. Then, as the eagerly expected message complying with the demands of the popular party was not forthcoming, the Moderator read a long and elaborate document which, claiming as of right that the Church should be protected from the encroachments of the Court of Session, and protesting "that all and whatsoever Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain passed without the consent of this Church and nation in alteration of the government and discipline of the Church, were void and null," concluded with the declaration: "Finally, while firmly asserting the right and duty of the civil magistrate to maintain and support an establishment of religion in accordance with God's Word, and reserving to ourselves and our successors to strive by all lawful means, as opportunity shall in God's good providence be offered, to secure the performance of this duty agreeably to the Scriptures, and in implement of the Statutes of the Kingdom of Scotland, and the obligations of the Treaty of Union as understood by us and our ancestors, . . . we protest, that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is, and shall be lawful for us . . . to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of . . . separating in an orderly way from the Establishment; . . . and we do now withdraw accordingly . . . with an assured conviction that we are not responsible for any

consequences that may follow from this our enforced separation from an Establishment which we loved and prized—through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as King in His Church."

The Moderator, having read the Protest, bowed to the Lord High Commissioner, and, followed by a large number of ministers and elders, walked out of the church. They marched in procession down Hanover Street to Tanfield Hall, Canonmills, which they had hired in case of emergency; and, appointing Dr. Chalmers Moderator, declared themselves to be the **"Free Church of Scotland."**

It was an impressive and dramatic episode. That it should elicit general amazement and admiration was only natural. From all quarters of the globe sympathy and help were extended to those who seemed to be following principle at so great a cost. The foreign missionaries of the Church cast in their lot with the Seceders; the Presbyterians of England and Ireland ceased to have fellowship with the Church of Scotland; the Irish Presbyterians, in the flush of their generous enthusiasm, voting £10,000 for the relief of the Scottish sufferers for conscience sake. Probably no religious movement ever evoked wider or heartier support from its adherents. Whatever might be the sacrifices of the rank and file of the seceding clergy, the leaders, backed by wealthy and generous laymen, were no losers by the change. In an incredibly short space of time, churches, manses, and schools belonging to the new communion were built in nearly two-thirds of the parishes of Scotland; and in three out of the four University cities, Theological Colleges were founded.

Yet it is difficult to understand why the Secession should ever have taken place. A little patience, a little forbearance would to all appearance have easily prevented it. "We go out on the Establishment principle; we are no voluntaries," was the emphatic declaration of these new Seceders. They were the very men who had

most vehemently denounced the error of dissenting from the Church on account of evils which could be borne, and which might be remedied. The "evils" which led to the formation of the Free Church were, in all essential respects, the same "evils" which had led to the formation of the Associate Presbytery and the Relief Synod. The Church which Chalmers and Candlish and Cunningham so fiercely defended, was the Church in which these "evils" were conspicuous. Such evils were only spots on the sun, were as nothing compared to the benefits which a Church established and endowed ensured. The Church of England, in the eyes of Non-Intrusionists, contained anomalies and grievances greater than the anomalies and grievances which the Church of Scotland contained. In the Church of England, patronage was more unbridled; the people had no choice in the election of their ministers; the interlacing of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction was more evident and notorious. Yet, in defence of that institution, Chalmers had gone up to London and exhausted the resources of his intellect and the splendour of his eloquence. That he should have regarded it as a sin to separate from the Church established in England, and a duty to separate from the Church established in Scotland, was a glaring inconsistency. The only explanation is that he and his party in the irritation of defeat took up positions from which, when too late, they found it impossible to withdraw. They had no wish to leave the Church; had they not pledged themselves to leave it if their demands were not conceded, they might have remained—remained in greater consistency with their past contentions, with equal honour to themselves, and with more usefulness to the country. Irrevocably pledged to a step which they could not retrace, they went out; but as they went, greeted by thunders of popular applause, there must have been some who heard with misgiving the still small voice of the remonstrance which Sir William Hamilton addressed to them: "*Be not Schismatics, be not Martyrs by Mistake.*"

CHAPTER XII

1843–1890

§ 1.—The Revival of the Church

THE departure of so many of her clergy and her people was a terrible blow to the Church; and there was a widespread impression that she could never recover from the shock. If we accepted the exaggerated statements of Free Church historians, we should suppose that the majority of the clergy went out, and that among those who remained there was scarcely a man of average ability or of decent character. "The protest," says Dr. William Wilson, "was virtually subscribed by the religion of Scotland, in so far as that had been hitherto found within the pale of the Established Church." "The life," says Dr. Robert Buchanan, "departed from the Establishment, and those who remained gazed upon the empty space as if they had been looking into an empty grave." When Dr. Welsh withdrew, he was, says Dr. Hetherington, "closely followed by all the men of distinguished genius, and talent, and learning, and piety, and faithfulness, and energy, and zeal; by all whose lives and labours had shed fresh grace and glory on the Church of Scotland, as honoured servants of her Head and King." Those who did remain were treated with a bitterness almost inconceivable. They were held up to obloquy as no longer ministers of Christ; they were only "stipend-lifters." The Church to which they adhered was no longer a Church; it was only the "Residuary Establishment." The parish minister was to be regarded as "the one excommunicated man of the district, the man with whom no one was to join in prayer," and the parish church "was to be avoided as an impure and unholy place." A pamphlet

was published entitled *The Wheat and the Chaff, gathered into Bundles*—the "wheat" being the clergy who went out, the "chaff" those who remained. A few seriously disposed persons might be shocked by this presumptuous anticipation of the Divine judgment, but most of those assailed could afford to laugh at the curious phenomenon of chaff which lay still, and wheat which flew away!

The actual strength of the clergy, remaining and seceding, was :[1]—

	Remaining.	Seceding.
Parish Ministers,	681	289
Chapel Ministers,	71	162
	752	451

In sober earnest, however, the Secession was an unquestionable loss to the Church, both in regard to numbers and in regard to moral and spiritual power. She can never look back save with sorrow to the disastrous day which witnessed the departure of Thomas Chalmers, orator and Christian statesman; his son-in-law and biographer, the cultured and beloved William Hanna; Robert Smith Candlish, the restless, dexterous controversialist, and the real leader of the Secession; William Cunningham, the massive, learned theologian; Thomas Guthrie, philanthropist and preacher; James Begg, the sturdy and consistent tribune of the people; Alexander Duff, the Apostolic Missionary; Horatius Bonar, one of the sweetest hymn-writers of modern Christendom. But the more highly we estimate the numbers and the worth of those who quitted her fold, the more marvellous appears her recovery. She must have retained some "genius, talent, learning, piety, faithfulness, energy, zeal," or she could not so soon have surmounted the difficulties of her situation. Jeered at and reviled; able to obtain possession of many chapels of ease only after lengthened litigation, which left them burdened with a debt of £30,000; in some districts of the Highlands,

[1] Turner's *Scottish Secession of* 1843.

and in the large towns, her churches literally emptied; hampered by the difficulty of supplying the charges which had become vacant; weakened by the action of sundry Town Councils who exercised their patronage by putting inferior men into highest places, she went quietly on her way. Her shattered organisations were speedily restored; her schemes and missions were soon as flourishing as ever; developments hitherto undreamt of began; she was to see the Free Church forced to appear before the civil courts; she was to achieve the reforms for which the seceders had been too impatient to wait.

In October 1843, **James Robertson**, minister of Ellon, was appointed Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh. He had for eleven years been the most devoted of parish ministers. "The second name and the first man of his party, the redoubtable Robertson of Ellon," as Hugh Miller called him, he had taken a leading part in the Ten Years' Conflict, and had resisted the high-handed proceedings of the General Assembly towards the seven ministers of Strathbogie. Destitute of every grace of oratory, he won his way to the hearts of hearers by the massive force of his arguments and the evident sincerity of his words. In that time of seething controversy he was able in a marvellous manner to divest himself of party bias. Not in any spirit of rivalry towards the Free Church, but simply because he felt that it was the way in which the National Church could best discharge her responsibilities towards the nation, he began the great work of his life, the Endowment Scheme, the providing of funds by which, in a constitutional manner, chapels should be raised to the rank of parish churches. "Not the rights of the Established Church, but the efficiency of the Church of Scotland," was the end to be kept in view. "There is," he said, "no necessity of turning to the right hand or the left, on account of anything that may be said or done against us. . . . Rather than again enter upon the bitter waters of contention, and return railing for railing, let us study to be more earnest in the discharge of our Christian duties;

let us take the matter to our hearts and consciences and strive to correct what is amiss within ourselves."

"Endowed territorial work" had been the aim of Chalmers, but he had been able to carry it out only partially. By voluntary contributions he had succeeded in building chapels in necessitous districts; but he still looked to the State for endowment. Robertson determined that, as the chapels had been built by voluntary contributions, they should be endowed by voluntary contributions also. The response to his appeals may not have been adequate, but it was amazing. When he died in 1860, a sum of not less than half a million sterling had been contributed and sixty new parishes had been erected. He left on record with his latest words his estimate of the subordinate position which in the work of the Church even the best organisation must ever occupy: "It is not the Convener, not the Committee, that can do this, but the Spirit of the Living God."

When his successor in the Convenership, Dr. William Smith of North Leith, whose days were shortened by his unwearied labours, died in 1877, 250 parishes had been endowed; and at the General Assembly of 1890 it was reported that 366 had been endowed and erected.

While the Endowment Scheme was pursuing its course, the kindred scheme, the Home Mission, had likewise taken a new lease of life. **Dr. Kenneth Macleay Phin** resigned the living of Galashiels in 1871, and devoted himself to the service of the Home Mission. His management was a triumph of administrative capacity and skill. The renewed practical activity which the labours of Dr. Robertson, Dr. Smith, and Dr. Phin had produced throughout the Church was doubtless among the causes which evoked the largest gift ever made by a private person in his lifetime to any ecclesiastical or benevolent object—the gift of £500,000 from a lifelong friend of Dr. Robertson, Mr. James Baird of Cambusdoon. "I am doing," so he explained the motive of his munificence, "what I wish I had done when Dr. Robertson was alive."

The system of **Lay Patronage** came to an end in 1874. Various attempts to modify it had proved unsatisfactory. There were many who upheld it, fearing the worse evils which unrestrained Popular Election might bring. But the agitation against Patronage gained in vigour every year. Eventually, under the leadership of the sagacious Dr. W. R. Pirie, the Assembly petitioned for its total abolition; and the Lord Advocate, Mr. E. S. Gordon, afterwards Lord Gordon of Drumearn, brought in a measure by which this bone of contention was finally taken out of the way.

Amid engrossing questions of government and doctrine, the question of the Public Worship of the Church had been neglected. In 1860 a book of *Prayer for Social and Family Worship for the use of Soldiers, Sailors, and Colonists*, prepared by a special Committee, was published by the authority of the General Assembly. The Convener of this Committee was the honoured and lamented Dr. T. J. Crawford, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. In 1861 another "innovation" was sanctioned by the Assembly, in the issue of a small volume of *Hymns* for use in churches. The circulation of these books proved that such "aids to devotion" were desired. But more was needed to meet the emergency which had arisen. Another Secession, not sudden and startling like that of the Free Church, but silent and gradual, was going on. The wealthier classes spent much time in England; their children went to England for education; and inevitably unfavourable comparisons were made between the orderly services, the fine music, the beautiful churches which were to be found south of the Tweed, and the monotonous services, the unmelodious singing, the bare and desolate churches, which were to be found at home. Had such persons acted chivalrously and patriotically, they might have remained and striven for improvement; but too often the calumnious opinion had been accepted both by friends and foes, that such attention to the externals of worship was inconsistent with Presbytery, if not almost identical with Popery;

and the task of tearing up an opinion so deeply rooted was one from which most men naturally shrank. This was the state of matters which **Robert Lee** set himself to remedy. He became minister of Old Greyfriars' in November 1843, and in 1847 Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh, retaining both his charge and his chair till his death in 1868. The changes which, in accordance with his conception of the needs of the time, he introduced, were at first strongly opposed, and he fought a long and weary battle in Presbytery, Synod, and Assembly. He died ere the battle was ended, but the Church has virtually come round to his side, and services according to the spirit of the Scottish Reformers are rapidly displacing the innovations of English Puritanism. The growing interest in the orderly administration of the ordinances of the Church is shown by the general and enthusiastic adoption of the *Scottish Hymnal*; and by the progress of the Church Service Society, which was founded in 1865, and now contains more than 500 clerical members. Venerable structures, like the Cathedral of St. Giles and the Cathedral of Glasgow, have been rescued from the neglect and dilapidation of ages; beautiful new churches are ceasing to be rarities; and the sentiment is becoming more widely diffused that attention should be paid not merely to providing accommodation for worshippers, but to rendering the "house of God" more worthy of the sacred purpose to which it is dedicated.

Dr. Lee was also one of the originators of the movement for the modification of subscription to the Westminster Confession. He took an active part in promoting the Scheme for the augmentation of the Smaller Livings of the Clergy.

Another great force in the upbuilding of the Church was found in the life and labours of **Norman Macleod**, successively minister of Loudon, Dalkeith, and the Barony of Glasgow. He was a man of extraordinary versatility and genius, uniting in an unusual degree profound devotional feeling, overflowing and exuberant

humour, an eloquence that appealed at once to the most intellectual and the most illiterate, and a great organising faculty. The writer of songs, stories, travels; a brilliant conversationalist; the confidant of the Queen, and the friend of working men; he was the life of every company in which he mixed. A Church leader, in the ordinary sense of the term, he was not; with the details and subtleties about which men fought he had no sympathy: "They are squabbling about the United Presbyterian, Free Church, or Established, when the world is asking whether Christ is risen from the dead!" The only man whom he ever regarded as his ecclesiastical leader was Dr. James Robertson. In theology he was an avowed follower of his kinsman, John Macleod Campbell. Although laying no stress on ritual, he was a supporter of Dr. Robert Lee. In a time of transition it was to be expected that the expression of his opinions would bring him into trouble. The result of the agitation which was caused by the distinction which he drew between the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday indicated decisively that a new era of Christian liberty had begun. And none were more thankful that they could honourably retain Dr. Macleod, or entered more heartily into the general enthusiasm with which in the course of a year or two he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly, than some whose conscientious convictions had not suffered them to remain silent when his utterances appeared to them to be subversive of the Faith. As editor of *Good Words* he conferred an immense boon upon the community in founding a periodical literature, healthy, instructive, interesting, thoroughly religious in tone, though not dealing exclusively with religious subjects. As Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee, he visited India, accompanied by Dr. Watson of Dundee, and gave a great impetus to the zeal of the Church. It was only a few days before his death that in the General Assembly of 1872, speaking on the subject of missions, he uttered the memorable and magnifi-

cent saying, which so well expressed the purpose of his life: "I desire to be 'broad' as the charity of Almighty God, who maketh His sun to shine on the evil and the good, who hateth no man, and who loveth the poorest Hindoo more than all their Committees or all their Churches. But while I long for that breadth of charity, I desire to be narrow—narrow as God's righteousness, which, as a sharp sword, can separate between eternal right and eternal wrong."

Prominent among the churchmen of the period was Dr. Macleod's "friend and fellow-soldier," **John Tulloch**, Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. No man ever more thoroughly combined the qualities so frequently found disjoined—boldness and reverence, readiness to accept whatever might be revealed by the progress of knowledge, and tenacious adherence to the spiritual verities which had proved their power in the history of the Church and in his own individual life. No man ever more sincerely sought to act in accordance with the counsel which, as a young man, he gave in face of impending change: "Let the march of thought go on; in vain shall any try to check it. But while we move forward let us revere the past; and, as we sweep within the gates of a *new* era, let us look back with admiration, and, so far as we can, with love, if not with regret, to the great figures that stand at the illuminated portals of the *old*." Nothing more forcibly shows the growth of toleration and charity in the Church than a comparison of the way in which Principal Tulloch was actually treated with the way in which he would have been treated fifty years before. The growth is most marked between the time when, as a young man, he had to encounter his share of suspicion, and the time when, not an old man yet, he was, in February 1886, carried to his grave, the beloved, trusted, revered leader of the Church. The change was honourable alike to the Church and to him. It proved the power of his personal influence and of the principles which he advocated: it proved the capacity of the Church to receive the new light which God

was pouring upon her, to profit by the sad experience and blunders of the past.

§ 2.—Conclusion

Such, in merest outline, is the History of the Church of Scotland; and it is a History of which, on the whole, we may be proud. It presents instances of faith, devotion, heroism, charity not elsewhere surpassed; and those on whom "the Scottish Church . . . hath held the strong hand of her purity" may well be filled "with gratitude and reverential thoughts."[1] At the same time there is much which we must lament. With all veneration for the saints and sages of the past, we have to be warned by their errors as well as inspired by their virtues. Chief among these errors has been the tendency to division, to contention about minute points of Church government and doctrine. This error is not, indeed, confined to Scotland; but the readiness of Scotsmen to form separate communions, on points of difference which can hardly be made intelligible to strangers, has few parallels. Lord Jeffrey, when he heard that so great a number of ministers had left the Church, is said to have exclaimed, "There is not another country in the world in which such a spectacle could be seen." Dean Stanley thinks that Lord Jeffrey was right. "There was no other country in the world where so noble a testimony could have been borne to the sacredness and tenderness of scrupulous consciences. But it is no less true that in no other country in the world would the consciences of so many able and excellent men have been so deeply wounded by the intricacies of a legal suit, of which the point at issue can only be ascertained by a searching investigation of conflicting statements, even amongst those who are most keen in the controversy."

A great change has in this respect taken place in recent years. Probably there is now no communion in Christendom in which there is more toleration or com-

[1] Wordsworth: *The Excursion.*

prehensiveness. The different schools which exist in the Church of England, "High," "Broad," and "Evangelical," have their representatives in the Church of Scotland. The right of each school to exist within the Church is cordially recognised by the others; they all work together in harmony; and the suppression of any one of them would be a distinct loss to the whole.

We are precluded from mentioning the names of living men; but in the building and endowing of churches at home; in the wider and deeper interest which is generally taken in Foreign Missions, and which may be especially seen in the readiness of young and able licentiates to offer themselves for missionary service; in the greater attention which is paid to the condition of the people; in the endeavours to give additional efficiency to the system of Sunday School teaching; in the various developments of the Christian Life and Work Committee, the Young Men's Guild, the Woman's Guild, the Deaconess Institution, the Parish Magazine with its local supplements; in these and in other ways there is abundant evidence of entrance into the labours of those who have entered into rest.

The multiplicity of organisations leaves little time for the production of works in Theology or Literature. The Church may not be able to boast of such varied achievements as those which Alexander Carlyle could enumerate in the days of the Moderates. But the contributions of the clergy to contemporary periodicals are neither few nor unimportant; and, without taking into account the Magazines of the Church, there are several magazines of which the editors are clergymen. In the Revision of the Authorised Version of the Bible; in the translation of Foreign Theological and Philosophical Treatises; in the production of critical and exegetical works, the Ministers of the Church of Scotland have had some part. Their *Recreations* and *Graver Thoughts* are circulated far and wide. Their *Aspirations* and their *Moments on the Mount* are aids to the devotional life of many whom their voices can never reach. The Croall

Lectures on the *Philosophy of Religion* and on the *Resurrection of our Lord*; the Baird Lectures on *Theism* and on *Anti-theistic Theories*; the Biographies of *James Robertson*, of *Robert Lee*, and of *Norman Macleod*; may be cited as a few instances out of many to prove that the Church, even in this age of outward activity, is not unmindful of her literary and theological traditions. And men of remarkable attainments in Science, Philosophy, and Literature will be found throughout the Church in the persons of her busiest Parish Ministers.

While the Church of Scotland has been so wonderfully developing her resources, the Dissenting communions have been undergoing various transformations. The Burghers and Anti-burghers, who had in 1820 again coalesced under the name of the United Secession, joined with the Relief Synod in 1847 under the name of the **United Presbyterian** Church. There are still some congregations which have not entered into any of these unions, but have resolutely adhered to the principles of which Dr. M'Crie was the greatest exponent. These Congregations form the Synod of **Original Seceders.** The majority of the **Reformed Presbyterians,** the descendants of those stubborn Cameronians who refused the Revolution Settlement because the Solemn League and Covenant was ignored, saw their way to join the Free Church in 1876; but a few of them still remain apart, and claim to be the true Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

It might have been expected that the abolition of Patronage would be hailed by Free Churchmen and United Presbyterians as a step in the right direction, and that they would do what they could to further it. Instead of this, many of them opposed it to the utmost. The old theory that Dissenters have a vested right in the grievances of the Established Church has still its advocates. In the United Presbyterian Synod of 1876 a leading minister could be found to declare: "The worse the Established Church becomes, the better for the nation." And although the indignant protest of one of his brethren, "The more

earnestly the Established Church does Christ's work among us, the better is it for our common country and our common faith," elicited loud applause, yet too often the ignoble theory has been practically adopted.

For many years the most effective cry against the Church was that her clergy were unsound in the faith. This cry has now become very faint. "Advanced" opinions of any kind, so long as they were confined to the Church of Scotland, were stigmatised as heretical; but now that they have become prevalent in the Free Church, they are somehow supposed to be less deleterious!

In the official returns for 1888 of the Alliance of Reformed Churches, popularly known as the Pan-Presbyterian Council, the following statistics are given :—Communicants in the Church of Scotland, 571,029; in the Free Church, 332,170; in the United Presbyterian, 182,000. And it should be gratefully acknowledged that the Church has many friends beyond her pale. In those regions of the Highlands where she is weakest, Free Churchmen, with few exceptions, remain true to the principles for which they went out in 1843, and are strongly opposed to disestablishment. The laity of other communions throughout the whole country entertain as a rule the kindliest feelings towards the old Church from which they or their fathers departed. They see the causes of separation removed; they believe that from reunion great good would come, and that perpetual attacks on the Church, successful or unsuccessful, can only intensify the theological rancour which has already wrought such incalculable harm. It would be unjust as well as ungenerous to underrate the services which Free Churchmen and United Presbyterians have rendered to our common country and our common Faith. The devotion, the ability, the learning to be found among their clergy, the zeal and the munificence to be found among their laity, demand our recognition and our imitation. We cannot renounce our own position, but many of our holiest traditions and memories are theirs as well as ours. The General Assembly has formally

approached every Presbyterian Church in Scotland with the expression of her "hearty willingness and desire to take all possible steps, consistent with the maintenance of an establishment of religion, to promote the union of such Churches." Her efforts have as yet proved fruitless; but, with grounds of difference so shadowy as to be imperceptible to a neutral observer, it is hard to believe that it is impossible to find a basis of agreement on which, without abandonment of principle or compromise of honour on either side, the now opposing communions may take their stand and thus avert a long, unhappy, and disgraceful strife.

The Scottish Episcopal Church would probably more than any other gain by Disestablishment, and yet, to their credit be it said, her laity and most of her clergy may, on the whole, be ranked amongst the defenders of the Church of Scotland. The exceptional position of the Episcopal Communion; her clergy being largely drawn from other countries, and her laity, though socially powerful being numerically weak, embracing not more than two and a half per cent of the population; accounts for, if it does not excuse, the offensiveness of the manner in which she occasionally seeks to assert her position in the face of a majority so overwhelming. We ought not to forget that there was a time when, in the Reformed Church of Scotland, Episcopacy and Presbytery existed side by side, and that the saintly Leighton strove for their combination. We ought not to forget that some of the most generous benefactors of the Church of Scotland in recent years have been Episcopalians. We ought not to forget that within this century the Episcopal Communion has contained amongst her ministers one who has a warm place in every Scottish heart, Dean Ramsay; and one whom every spiritual mind reveres, Bishop Ewing. And still living among us there is one whose appeals for unity, however Utopian they may seem, must be treated with the respect which is due to age, to learning, and to singleness of purpose. The fusion of Presbytery and Episcopacy may appear to be a dream.

The first step towards it will not be found except in the burying of old animosities, in the interchange of good offices, and in the acknowledgment of one another's orders and historical standing.

Thus, then, stands the Church of Scotland to-day, and there is nothing in her position of which to be ashamed. She is intensely national: there are epochs in which the history of the nation is simply the history of the Church; in which the corruption or the reform, the oppression or the independence, of the Church, was identical with the misery or the wellbeing of the nation. She is Presbyterian, but she proudly maintains that her mission and her orders are, in the words of the Moderator of the General Assembly of 1890, "as good as those of the Archbishop of Canterbury." She does not unchurch other communions; to their own Master they stand or fall; but she has the witness of scholarship that Bishop and Presbyter were originally interchangeable terms, and that Episcopacy is simply "a phase of Presbytery." She remembers that, if she is unchurched by a High Anglicanism, she shares this fate not only with the communions which have separated from her or from the Church of England in the United Kingdom, in the Colonies and in America, but with the Lutheran and Reformed Churches on the Continent of Europe; and that, after all, in the eyes of the Church of Rome, the highest Anglican is as much a Protestant and a schismatic as any Reformed Presbyterian or Original Seceder. She is in alliance with the State, but she is free in every respect in which it is good to be free. The State interferes with her no more than with the non-Established Churches; her "spiritual independence" is even greater, as her courts, alone among Church courts, have within their own sphere the authority which belongs to courts of the realm.[1] "Spiritual independ-

[1] "We have just as little right to interfere with the procedure of the Church Courts in matters of ecclesiastical discipline as we have to interfere with the proceedings of the Court of Justiciary in a criminal case."—Lord President Boyle in the case of *Lockhart* v. *Presbytery of Deer*, 1851.

"Within their spiritual province, the Church Courts are as supreme

ence," more than that which she possesses, would be the establishment of spiritual tyranny.

An institution like this, associated with the most sacred memories of the past, and showing an increasing appreciation of the needs of the present, is surely worth preserving. And all loyal children of the Church will rally round her should she be assailed. Although they may not regard her with a blind affection, although they may not pretend that she is faultless, they know that she has been and is a power for good, and that her downfall would simply be the wanton or thoughtless destruction of means and opportunities of usefulness which no other institution could ever supply. But her most loyal children and her best defenders will be those who strive to make her more worthy of affection and respect; whose aim is the noble aim of Dr. Robertson, "not so much to uphold the rights and privileges of the Established Church, as to improve the efficiency of the Church of Scotland"; who work and pray that she may continue to be not only an invaluable national institution, but a living branch of the Holy Catholic Church.

as we are within the civil.'—Lord Moncreiff in the case of *Wight* v. *Presbytery of Dunkeld*, 1870.

"The Church Courts may probably do injustice, but they do it under their own constitution, and the Court of Session has no right to interfere with what they do within their own jurisdiction."—Lord Benholme in the case of *Wight* v. *Presbytery of Dunkeld*, 1870.

AUTHORITIES

THE following works may be found useful in filling up the Sketch :—

CHAPTERS I. II.

Bede : *Ecclesiastical History of England.*
Forbes, A. P. : *Life of St. Ninian, by Ailred; and Life of St. Kentigern, by Jocelyn.*
Montalembert : *Monks of the West.*
Reeves : *Life of St. Columba, by Adamnan.*
Skene, W. F. : *Celtic Scotland.*

CHAPTERS III. IV.

Knox, John : *History of Reformation.*
M'Crie, Thos. : *Life of John Knox.*

CHAPTERS V. VI. VII.

Baillie, Robert : *Letters and Journals.*
Burnet, Gilbert : *His own Time.*
Howie, John : *Scots Worthies.*
M'Crie, Thos. : *Life of Andrew Melville.*
Mitchell, Alex. : *Westminster Assembly* (Baird Lecture).
Story, R. H. : *Life of Carstares.*
Wodrow, R. : *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland.*

CHAPTERS VIII. IX. X.

Carlyle, Alex. : *Autobiography.*
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Oliphant, Mrs. : *Life of Edward Irving.*
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CHAPTERS XI. XII.

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Buchanan, Robert : *Ten Years' Conflict.*
Charteris, A. H. : *Life of James Robertson.*
Hanna, W. : *Life of Thomas Chalmers.*
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Oliphant, Mrs. : *Life of John Tulloch.*
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GENERAL.

Bellesheim, A. : *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland* (translated by Oswald Hunter Blair).
Burton, John Hill : *History of Scotland.*
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M'Crie, Thos., junr. : *Story of the Scottish Church.*
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St. Giles' Lectures. Series I. and III.
Sprott, G. W. : *Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland.*
Story, R. H. (edited by) : *Church of Scotland, Past and Present.*
Walker, N. L. : *Scottish Church History.*

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